

His Majesty's Ministers are fully prepared to enter upon the discussion: we feel within us all the strength and spirits of *Giants refreshed*; and we challenge the noble lord [Lord Grenville] to the "contest."—Speech of LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON, April 20, 1804.

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#### DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE CURRENCY IN IRELAND.

SIR,—Having for some time past been a constant reader of your Weekly Register, I was glad to find that the present situation of Ireland had, among other serious events, engaged your attention. I should presume, indeed, that forming as it does no inconsiderable part of the empire, the prosperity or depression produced by the measures of government in its various departments, is a subject of the deepest concern to every thinking man in the community.—It is far from my intention, in what I submit to you and to the public, to attribute every difficulty and every misfortune, however unforeseen, to the neglect or mismanagement of those to whom the public affairs are confided; but, in such instances where evils have been gradually increasing to an alarming crisis, without a seeming consciousness on the part of ministers that such evils existed at all; or, if by chance perceived, without any attempt to check their progress, and without being in the smallest degree prepared to remedy their effects, when the welfare, if not the very existence of the state is at stake; in such instances it cannot be deemed invidious or factious to expose their conduct to general censure.—The state of the currency of this country is a thing now so well known, that I should not have been tempted to add to what has been already said in your Register on the subject, had I not felt provoked by the assertions made by two ministers in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Corry, that were, I must say, notwithstanding my usual habits of deferring to such great men, utterly destitute of truth. The former insisted that the Bank paper of this country was *not depreciated*, and the latter assured the House, that the Privy Council here had obviated the difficulties, and effectually remedied the evil of the bad circulation.—With respect to a paper currency, I believe the simplest position to stand thus: so long as the paper and specie in circulation bear a due proportion to each other, the convenience of the paper will always maintain its value; but, whenever the quantity of paper so far exceeds the specie as to produce the least difficulty in exchanging the one for

the other, the merit of the convenience is done away, and the value is instantly depreciated more or less.—In this country, it is certainly out of all proportion. The Directors of the Bank have most ingeniously contrived, that in no payment, whatever be the sum, ever so great, or ever so small, shall there be a necessity for issuing any specie beyond a few halfpence. A dexterity in shifting between the guinea-and-half note; (£1. 14. 1 Irish) the guinea note (£1. 2 0 Irish) and the pound note (£1. 0. 0 Irish) is all that is requisite, and will always reduce the fraction below a shilling.—Hence I have a right to attribute the total disappearance of sterling specie, the introduction of counterfeit, and the consequent depreciation of Bank paper.—But, if Lord Castlereagh is not satisfied with this position, or disposed to admit the conclusion from it, I will state a fact, which no one will contradict. The exchange between this country and England, during last week, was about 16 per cent. so that, had I wanted £100 payable in London, of British currency, I must have carried to market £116 Irish, in the national Bank notes; but, I did carry £105 only, in specie, and I obtained £100 British.—I insist therefore, that the depreciation of the Bank paper is nearly eleven per cent.—Lord Castlereagh, however, may not call this a depreciation in the value of paper. By a little ingenious sophistry, he may, perhaps, shew, that it is only a preference which people of prejudiced minds and narrow understandings have for gold and silver. Leaving this point to the ingenuity of his lordship, let me now ask, what could have induced the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer to pretend that his dispatches brought him accounts, that authorised his assurance to the House? Is it because the whole trade of Dublin is at a stand for want of some circulating medium? Or, because the business of all the public offices can only be transacted by little scraps of paper, with I. O. U. written on them, which are handed about among the clerks? Or, are we to thank the Privy Council for a parcel of *three and sixpenny notes* issued by an alderman, or by a company at Malahide a village about 7 Irish miles from Dublin, neither of which would have passed while any

specie was to be had? Or, are we to offer up to the paternal regard of the minister, the unfeigned applause of every housekeeper, who goes with a guinea note to market, and, rather than return without something for dinner, must bring home his change in a load of bad halfpence? If these were the items of his long expected dispatches, I cannot exult with Mr. Corry at the remedies that have been applied; but, I can most solemnly vouch for the truth of them.—In fact, Sir, the situation of this kingdom is deplorable for want of the common means of traffic; and, it is cruel that a people who are submitting to the greatest hardships with patience, should be laughed at in their distress. But to considerations of this sort Mr. Corry may boast a noble superiority, and, I suppose, like Brother Peter, he will tell the Irish, that they may be damned to all eternity, if they do not believe that they have every thing provided for them that can contribute to the comfort and happiness of a nation.—Every retail shopkeeper in Dublin will tell you, notwithstanding, that he is on the brink of ruin, in consequence of the stagnation in trade. I examined the day-book of one very respectable man, and I found that prior to the 25th of March, his weekly receipts were on an average £53, and that, since that time, they have not exceeded three guineas. Customers have offered themselves, but none with what he could take for his goods.—Such men are likely to fast, but not very likely I think to pray for Mr. Corry or the Privy Council. The Bank have, since the 16th of this month, opened an office for the purpose of buying the *best* of the late silver at *8 shillings in the pound*, on an average, and all who have it are obliged to submit to that loss; some individuals having to the amount of several hundred pounds worth.—But even this measure was delayed for three weeks after the base currency stopped; during which time, the poor who had no alternative but to sell what shillings they had, or to starve, were left a prey to Jews and Extortioners, who would give them only *two-pence halfpenny for each shilling*, or, *4 shillings and two-pence in the pound*. So that, those who could least bear it lost double.—I have no doubt that Mr. Corry will say, that dollars have been sent into circulation: so they have; and I will tell him how, and what good they have done. To define what is any piece of coin that is said to be in circulation, I humbly conceive that it is absolutely necessary to show that that piece of coin has a specific value acknowledged by the whole community; and that, either it con-

veys that value intrinsically in itself, or it applies to some fund appointed to redeem it at the value for which it was issued, whenever its currency is obstructed. Is this the case with the dollars that have been sent into circulation? No, Sir, by no means. I am sorry, on this occasion to say, that much honour has not been reflected on any of the parties concerned.—A dollar according to the present price of bullion, is intrinsically worth *four shillings and six-pence*; and, when stamped by the Bank of England they pass for five shillings of British money. But here, as if the people in trade had not already suffered enough by a base currency that had little value but in its name, and instead of relieving, taking an advantage of the difficulties under which the community laboured, the Treasury began by issuing dollars at six and sixpence, or *six shillings English*. This imposition was soon rejected; for, in a week's time, they were, in all trade, reduced to five and eleven pence halfpenny, or *five and sixpence English*. The Directors of the Bank then took up the trade, they immediately sent to England and bought up a quantity of the dollars, and sold them to the public for *five and sixpence English*. At the same time a paragraph appeared in every Dublin Paper, to the following effect: "we are authorised to state to the public, that the Bank of Ireland will pay and receive dollars at five shillings and elevenpence halfpenny each."—Until this paragraph appeared, it was matter of accident entirely what they would go for. No man that had a dollar in his pocket could positively say what he was worth, or what he could buy. But a value was now stamped, not by a legal and regular authority, it is true, but in such a manner, that nobody doubting that the editors of these papers had been instructed formally to announce the intentions of the Bank Directors to the public, they became current without difficulty or dispute. People of all descriptions flocked to purchase them; and, this measure did actually carry on the face of it an appearance of relief. But, will you not, Sir, say, will not all England be astonished to hear that the Bank of this country will not receive back these very dollars in payment.—I think, therefore, I have done Mr. Corry justice when I omitted to state this as one of the reliefs for which we were indebted to the anxiety of the privy council.—Among many others, one grievance has arisen conspicuously out of this proceeding. The people in the market, foreseeing that they must some day be losers, either by the

alderman's, or Malahide paper, and having no longer any confidence in the dollars beyond their value as bullion, have, to secure themselves against ruin, thought it prudent and expedient to raise the price of their commodity in proportion to their estimation of the risk; as a shopkeeper in Bond street does in his dealing, between ready money and trust, or between a good pay and a bad one. So that, meat now is *eleven-pence* per pound, which, ten days ago, was only *nine-pence*; and all other things much in the same ratio. Mr. Corry may take advantage of the distance which he is at from the actual sufferers, to impose on the House of Commons; but, I can assure you, that the moment the report of his communication to that assembly reached this country, an universal indignation was expressed at it. I should not be surprised if that gentleman was grown careless of the opinion of the citizens of Dublin, since the failure of his friend's motion for a vote of thanks to him, in the Common Hall, "for his attention in the House of Commons to the interests of Ireland;" and I am ready to allow, that the amendment, which was no less than to expunge his name and insert that of Mr. Foster, and which was carried by a great majority, was enough to disgust any gentleman of his tender feelings. His constituents, however, are fellow-sufferers, and will not be ready to give him much credit on a future occasion.—I will now close this letter, with assuring you, though assurances are much depreciated, that, in conformity to your request only, I send this anonymous; but, should it meet with any contradiction in point of facts, I will prove what I have said; and if, in opinion, I will endeavour to controvert it.—

SPECTATOR.—*Dublin, 24th April, 1804.*

THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS  
UPON THE  
REVENUE LAWS,  
AND  
MORE PARTICULARLY UPON THE LAW  
IMPOSING

A TAX UPON PROPERTY.

It has been a general complaint in these kingdoms, that the manner and the language in which our British acts of Parliament have of late years been composed, are so mysterious and unintelligible; and one part of these written laws is frequently (in appearance at least) so opposite and contradictory to another, that the real will of the legislature has been thereby rendered totally

incomprehensible to the common understandings of mankind.

This, it is generally believed, has been occasioned by the interference of certain learned gentlemen in our legislative assemblies, who have, it seems, found means to get themselves appointed as the delegates of Parliament, for the framing of those laws. This seems to be more particularly the case, with respect to the framing of all our revenue laws; and these revenue laws are, in consequence, generally more unintelligible than any other of the British acts of Parliament.

The learned gentlemen who have been employed to compose several of the acts, that were passed in the last session of Parliament, seem to have discovered more ingenuity, and of course have been more successful in rendering the will of the legislature unintelligible, than any of their predecessors.

The law, imposing a tax upon property, is certainly a *non-pareil* in this species of composition. These learned, ingenious men, have in this act found means to bury the real will of the legislature, under such an immense mountain of words, as to render it absolutely impossible for any man of common understanding to find it out. I have not, from the first passing of this act to the present day, met with a single individual, not even any of those honourable gentlemen who constitute our great legislative councils, who ever pretended to understand this law. If this be really the case, with respect to all those individuals who compose our legislative councils, can this law, which they themselves declare, they do not understand, be properly said to be the will of the legislature? As all the different orders of men in these kingdoms universally concur in opinion, that the manner in which this law has been composed, has rendered the real will of the legislature totally incomprehensible to them; can it be reasonably required from the subjects of these, or any other kingdoms, that they should regulate their conduct by a law, which they themselves do not understand? The commissioners to whom the legislature has intrusted the execution of this law, universally declare, that they do not understand it: is it not then impossible for these gentlemen to execute the will of the legislature, if that will has not been made obvious to their minds?

It is universally admitted, that there is no other power in these kingdoms, competent to make laws for the government of the realm, but the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled. This union of

the three orders of the state into one governing body, is that which constitutes the great supreme governing principle in every free monarchical government: and as it is this supreme governing principle alone that is competent to enact laws, it is obvious, that none other but this great principle itself can be competent to explain, alter, or repeal any law which it has enacted. For if any individual, or any order or society of men in the state shall arrogate to themselves the power of explaining any law which the legislature has enacted, the power of this great principle must evidently be thereby destroyed, and the law which it has enacted is no longer in force. And these persons, who arrogate to themselves this power of explaining the laws, which have been enacted by the legislature, thereby impose their own arbitrary opinion upon the whole nation as a law, under the pretence, that this explanation is the will of the British legislature.

These learned ingenious men, having, upon the mere authority of *custom*, acquired what they deem a prescriptive right to interfere in, and direct the composition of all the revenue laws, that are enacted by the British legislature; they, by rendering these laws dark and unintelligible to the common understandings of men, have thereby acquired a power over the legislature itself, and have been thereby enabled to impose their own arbitrary will upon the whole nation as a law. A very few words will be sufficient to prove, that this is truly the present situation of these united kingdoms.

That the law imposing a tax upon the property of all the inhabitants of these kingdoms, has been composed in such an extraordinary manner as to render it perfectly unintelligible, is a truth, in which, I believe, every man, who has read the law, will readily concur. The law having been thus rendered unintelligible to these gentlemen, who were appointed to be the executors of it, they could not, as I have already shown, possibly proceed to carry it into execution; and the only thing they could rationally propose, was, to return the act to Parliament, and to desire, that the will of the legislature might be expressed in such plain, intelligible language, as would render it perfectly obvious to their minds. The insurmountable difficulties which occurred to the commissioners in their attempts to execute this law, have, I believe, been the cause why the execution of this act of Parliament has been delayed for so many months beyond the period fixed by the law for the commencement of it.

It has not, however, been deemed necessary to return this unintelligible law back to the legislature, for the purpose of obtaining an explanation of it, in that kind of language which might render its will obvious to the common understandings of all men. Some persons (who they are I know not), have, it seems, arrogated this legislative power to themselves, and have now given a kind of explanation of this unintelligible law, in the way of instructions to the commissioners, who are appointed for the execution of it. Through these commissioners all the rest of mankind are now instructed in what way they are bound to obey it; and this explanation, which these men have now given to this law, they have the confidence to expect all the subjects of these kingdoms should admit to be the will and intention of the legislature, and to yield obedience accordingly.

But I shall, however, now venture to appeal to the common understandings of all men, if these gentlemen, in thus presuming to give an explanation of a British act of Parliament, have not arrogated to themselves that power, which, in the very constitution of our government, is vested in the *King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled alone*? And, if this explanation, which they have presumed to give of this act of Parliament, is any thing else, but their own arbitrary will and pleasure, which they are now attempting to impose upon the nation as a law?

As these explanations and instructions which these ambitious gentlemen have presumed to give to the commissioners appointed to execute this law, are so clearly an unlawful assumption of a power, which they have no right to exercise; I beg leave to submit it to the serious consideration of each of these commissioners; if they can, with any degree of respect for their own characters, or with any regard to the real welfare and interest of the nation, proceed any farther in the execution of these unlawful instructions; and, if it be not a duty, which they owe to themselves, to all their fellow subjects, and even to that supreme governing principle itself, from which alone all the laws of this kingdom can lawfully proceed, to return this unintelligible act back to the legislature itself, in order that it may have an opportunity of explaining its own will and intention in that clear and intelligible manner, which may render it perfectly obvious to their minds.

If a committee of Parliament, composed of plain country gentlemen, possessing good common sense only, and who have not made

the study of law their profession, were appointed to compose all the laws, which the legislature may find it proper to enact, we might then reasonably expect to find the will of the legislature, expressed in a language that would render it perfectly obvious to the minds of the subjects, who are to obey that law. But so long as these learned gentlemen, who have been bred to the profession of the law, are permitted to interfere in the composition of our written laws, we may be well assured, that they will always endeavour to render the will of the legislature doubtful, because, by these means, they are enabled, as I have already shown, to arrogate to themselves the power of legislation, and also to increase the trade of law. If our legislators would only copy that great example which the Creator himself has set before them in the composition of his own law, a British act of Parliament might in that case frequently be found to require alterations and amendments, but it is impossible that it would ever require any explanation. Every man upon the face of this earth to whom the will of God has been revealed, will feel himself compelled to confess, that it is so clearly expressed in that universal law which he has enacted, that no man who has the proper exercise of his rational faculties can possibly pretend ignorance as an apology for his sins. This clear and distinct knowledge of the will of God every man must admit was absolutely necessary to render mankind accountable to him for their disobedience of this righteous law. For the sake of argument, and with reverence we say, that it would evidently have been an act of injustice and cruelty, even in the Almighty himself, to punish men for the transgression of a law which they did not understand. Must not the supreme government of every nation upon earth be, therefore, guilty of cruelty and injustice in punishing its subjects for transgressing those laws which it has enacted, and in which its will is expressed in such an extraordinary manner as to render it perfectly incomprehensible to their minds?

There are, I trust, but few men in these kingdoms who will not readily agree with me in opinion, that whenever any of the acts of the British legislature are found to require alterations and amendments, that the old law should be at once repealed, and re-enacted with these alterations and improvements. By these means the subjects would be enabled to acquire a knowledge of the will of the legislature, and consequently of the duty required from them by the perusal of one law only. But these learned gentle-

men who are at present permitted to interfere in the framing of our statute laws by multiplying explanation upon explanation, and amendment upon amendment, the old law still remaining unrepealed, have been thereby enabled so to darken and obscure the will of the legislature, which was, perhaps, clearly enough expressed in the original law, as to render it incomprehensible to the minds of men. In this manner also, they have been enabled to arrogate to themselves the legislative power of explaining the law, and likewise of greatly increasing the trade of law. Of this multiplication of law upon law, we need go no farther back than the last session of Parliament to find examples.

That all mankind are bound by the law of nature itself to contribute, in proportion to their respective abilities, towards the expense necessary for the support of that government, under which they live, cannot be doubted; because it is expressly required by the Creator himself, as a duty incumbent upon all men. This being admitted as a truth, it naturally follows, that the only rational and equal mode of obtaining these necessary supplies for the support of government is, by requiring from every individual member of the state a certain proportion of that annual revenue which the Creator has been pleased to bestow upon him. And, I believe, it will be admitted by every man who will give himself the trouble to reflect, even but for a few minutes upon the subject, that this simple tax upon income, or upon the annual revenues of each individual member of the state is the only revenue law which ought to exist in every well regulated society. I may with confidence appeal to every man of common understanding, if it would not be equally as beneficial to him (even supposing the present mode of obtaining the supplies for the support of government, by imposing a tax upon the various necessities and conveniences of life, were as equally proportioned to each individual's annual income as the other, which it certainly is not) to pay the whole of his proportion towards the support of government, perhaps half yearly, or quarterly, under the name of a tax upon his annual revenues, as to pay the same sum annually as an additional price, imposed upon the various necessities and conveniences of life, which he finds to be necessary for the maintenance and convenience of himself and his family, under the various names of custom-house, excise, and stamp duties, of land tax, house tax, window tax, servant tax, horse tax, carriage tax, &c. &c. And it must be per-

fectly obvious to every man of common understanding, that by this simple method of raising the supplies that are necessary for the support of government, all the expense which seems to be necessary for maintaining that immense swarm of revenue officers, which are at present employed for the purpose of watching the different manufactures and traders in these different articles upon which these duties are imposed, and for the management and collection of these revenues, would become altogether unnecessary. The expenses of government in the collection of the revenue being thus lessened, the demands upon the subjects would, of course, be lessened in the same proportion.

This simple mode of raising the whole of the supplies that may be necessary for the support of government, by laying an assessment upon every individual in proportion to his annual revenue, (every other revenue law being repealed) would certainly have the effect of immediately reducing the price of all the various necessities of life, and consequently the wages of labour in such a degree as it is believed would amply indemnify the generality of mankind for that increased tax upon his annual revenues, which would then be found necessary for the support of government.

The present revenue laws do certainly impose a very unnatural and improper restraint upon the liberty of man, which must of course be very vexatious to the subject. These laws also, directly oppose every kind of national improvement, and consequently prevent the natural increase of the wealth of the nation. These laws impose also, a very unnatural and improper restraint upon the industry of man, and the manufacture of all those necessities of life upon which these excise duties are levied, have thereby become a monopoly. No man, for example, is permitted to manufacture some part or other, even of the produce of his own fields into that particular state which is necessary for the use of his own family. This can only be done by those men who have obtained a license from government for that purpose, and it is well known, that whenever government lays a penny of additional tax upon any commodity, these monopolizers are in the habit of laying another penny upon it as an additional profit to themselves. That immense fund of national wealth which might be obtained from the sea, round every part of these islands, is rendered of trifling value to the nation in comparison to what it would be if these unnatural laws were repealed, and the subjects

thereby set at liberty to exercise their natural industry without restraint.

But the most direful effect which these unnatural revenue laws have produced in these kingdoms is, the corruption of the morals of the people. The great profits which may be made by those who engage in the manufacture of, or who deal in those necessities of life upon which these heavy duties of custom and excise are levied, if they can by any means evade the payment of them, stimulate their avarice, and they are thus tempted by every mean in their power to evade the payment of them. This art of concealment and evasion is taught to the young men who are bred to these trades as a necessary part of the craft.

In order to secure the payment of these duties, oaths, without number, are continually imposed upon those people who deal in these articles: but having been trained up in these schools of iniquity, the power of conscience becomes gradually weakened, until at last it is so completely overpowered by the spirit of avarice, that its voice is no more heard, and false oaths are in consequence emitted without any hesitation. From the habitual repetition of these false oaths, the conscience, at last, becomes so hardened that perjury, in these cases, is scarcely considered to be a crime. But what may appear to be still more extraordinary, the generality of the rest of mankind, who can neither gain or lose by the success or detection of the frauds of these men, feel a natural inclination either to assist in, or at least to connive at, the attempts that are made by them to evade the payment of these duties. But this will always be found to be the case with respect to the evasion of every law, which imposes an unnatural restraint upon the liberty of man.

If in place of these unnatural revenue laws, the whole of the supplies, necessary for the support of government, were to be raised by a simple assessment, in proportion to the annual revenue of each individual, all these unnatural restraints, which are at present imposed upon the liberty of man, and all these strong temptations to commit iniquity, would thereby be immediately done away.

But it is impossible to levy an assessment any way nearly proportioned to the annual revenues of each individual member of the state, or any way consistent with the natural liberty of man, by any of the means that have hitherto been proposed. In these laws, that have been enacted for the purpose of obtaining this desirable object, the means proposed for obtaining a knowledge of the



amount of each individual's annual revenue, are far too complicated, and on that account, they have always failed in the accomplishment of the desired object. These Acts of Parliament are also too strongly tinged with that coercive, tyrannical spirit, which pervades the whole of the old revenue laws. The legislature has, in these acts, endeavoured to enforce a disclosure of the real income of each individual by compulsion, and by the imposition of oaths, notwithstanding that the old revenue laws are daily affording unquestionable proofs that it is impossible to obtain this object by such coercive means. But, in the last act, imposing a tax upon property, the rules that are there laid down for assessing a very numerous class of individuals in these kingdoms, is evidently unequitable, and in no case proportionable to their respective annual revenues. That class of men, for example, who are engaged in the cultivation of the land, whose annual revenues are supposed to arise entirely from the profits which they make of their respective farms, after paying the rent to their landlord, and every other expense for the proper cultivation of the soil is, by this act, ordained to be assessed in proportion to the rents which they pay for the farm, without any regard to the profits or annual revenue which they derive from it, provided the farm has been let to them within the last seven years. That this mode of laying on the tax upon this class of men is unequitable, and no way proportioned to their respective annual revenues, a very few words will shew. It is well known, that many farms have been taken, within these two or three years past, when the prices of the produce were so extravagantly high; at twice, and some of them at more than three times the rent that other tenants are now paying for farms of the same extent, and in every respect of equal value; that were, nevertheless, taken within the last seven years preceding the passing of this act. The man who is paying only one-half, or one-third of the rent, which the other pays for a farm of no more than equal value, must naturally be supposed to make two or three times more profit upon his farm, than the other man who pays the high rent; and yet, by this act, the man who is drawing a great annual revenue from his farm, is only charged with an assessment upon this great revenue, equal to one half of his low rent; and the other, who derives but a small revenue from his farm, (and many it is to be feared, after paying their landlords' demands, have a good deal less than no revenue at all,) is nevertheless obliged to pay perhaps three times the amount of the tax which is imposed

upon the other. Is this equitable? And must it not become a grievous burthen upon many individuals?

Every man feels, more or less, a natural disinclination to make a full disclosure of his situation to the world, however flourishing his circumstances may be; and, I know of no power on earth which can compel him to do it. But although all men feel this natural disinclination to make such a disclosure to the world, there are, I believe, but few men in these kingdoms who would feel much disinclination to have the situation, in which he ought to be placed in the society, conformably to his supposed annual revenue, determined by a jury of his neighbours.

There are many men, who, from a principle of avarice, would, if called upon to state to the commissioners the full amount of his annual revenue, endeavour to conceal some part of it, in order to evade the payment of the tax. But there is also such a portion of vanity implanted in the heart of every man, (and this same covetous man might perhaps be found to possess such a portion of it,) as would make him not at all displeased to find himself placed by this jury of his neighbours, some degrees higher in the scale of society, than he would have been entitled to if the real amount of his annual income had been exactly known. The only rational means that can be employed for levying a tax upon every individual member of the state, any way nearly proportioned to the amount of his annual income, and any way consistent with the natural freedom of man, seems to be, by the appointment of a certain number of men, in every particular district of the country, who, from their known good sense and integrity, may be deemed best qualified to discharge the duty imposed upon them, and who have been constantly residing in that district, to act as a jury, for the purpose of arranging all the inhabitants of that district, and dividing them into such a number of classes as they may deem to be most conformable to their respective annual revenues.

Supposing this general tax upon income to be adopted, and all the old revenue laws to be repealed, the man who earns his bread by the labour of his hands, being thereby freed from every other species of taxation, and the expense of the different necessaries of life, which he has occasion to purchase being thereby proportionably reduced, might well afford to pay some portion of the annual produce of his labour towards the support of government: and it is the express duty of government to compel him to do it, in obedience to the command of God himself, who

has expressly required, that every man shall pay this tribute of honour and reverence to that government under which he lives.

It matters not what sum Parliament, in its wisdom, may deem to be the annual produce or income of the labouring man. This, whatever it may be, would naturally become the very lowest object of taxation: and it would be the duty of the jury to state the names and places of abode of every man, within their district, whom they may judge to come under this description; and state this as the first class of inhabitants in that district. Another description of the inhabitants, whom the jury may believe, is in the receipt of such another additional sum of annual revenue, above the second class, as Parliament may have determined, should fall to be arranged by themselves, and termed the third class. The jury ought to proceed in the same manner, always taking the progressive scale of income that has been fixed by Parliament as their rule, until they have arranged all the inhabitants of the district, and placed them all in one or other of the different classes, conformably to their supposed annual revenue. The whole nation having been formed into districts, each of them of such an extent as may be deemed most proper, and the jury that may have been appointed for arranging the inhabitants of all these districts into their proper classes, having discharged their duty, it will then only remain for the legislature to determine the amount of the supplies, which it may deem to be necessary for the support of government for that year; to fix the proportion of this sum which ought to be paid by each of the individuals who compose these different classes; and to state the deductions which it may deem to be reasonable and proper to allow to certain individuals in these different classes, either from the amount of their supposed gross annual revenue, or from the amount of the tax, which would fall to be charged upon them, on account of the interest of money, or on account of children, &c.

It must be perfectly obvious to the mind of every man, that so soon as an abstract of the report of the different juries is laid before Parliament, it would then be enabled to determine, precisely, what sum could be actually raised by any particular tax, which it might find necessary to impose upon the different individuals in each of these different classes. It would, however, be always necessary to impose a tax that should produce such a sum above what was necessary for the support of government, as

might be deemed sufficient to cover those deductions, which certain individuals had a right to claim.

The amount of the annual interest which any individual may be liable to pay, for any sums of money which he may have borrowed, is certainly a very reasonable deduction from his supposed gross income; because, the real annual income upon which he has to subsist, is only that which remains to him after paying this interest. The amount of the deduction from this supposed gross income, which he may be inclined to claim on this account, may, however, be very safely left to himself without any sort of risk that the revenue would be thereby improperly diminished. For, I believe, it will be readily admitted, that the generality of mankind, who are under any considerable incumbrances of this kind, are more anxious to conceal the full amount of their debts than to expose it to the world.

The allowance which any man may deem it proper to make out of his gross annual revenue, to any relation who has fallen into distress, and who has been thereby rendered unable to support himself, and perhaps a large family, is certainly a reasonable deduction from his gross annual revenues, and ought to be allowed; because, if these distressed people did not receive from the benevolence of their friends, what is necessary for their support, they must unquestionably have become a burthen upon the nation in general; and because this exercise of charity is a duty, which the precepts of the gospel impose upon every christian, upon whom Divine Providence may have bestowed any portion of wealth; and, likewise, because it is the very improvement which the Saviour of Mankind requires every one of his followers to make, of that talent which God has bestowed upon him. To pretend to compel this benevolent man to make a particular disclosure of the names and places of abode of every individual upon whom he has bestowed such charity, would be not only an act of absolute tyranny, directly subversive of that liberty which God himself has bestowed upon man; but, also, absolutely compelling every christian to disobey the precept which his Divine Master has given him, for the regulation of his conduct, who says, "take heed, that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward from your Father who is in heaven." But, when thou doest alms, let not even thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

That there are some wicked and covetous

men, who, in order to diminish the tax imposed upon them, may be induced to claim a deduction from their gross annual revenues, for acts of charity which they have never done; is, I admit, highly probable. But, I must beg leave to submit it to the wisdom of Parliament, and to the consciences and even the common understandings of all other men, if it would not be more proper to risk any trifling deduction from the revenue, which might occur from the wicked practices of such men, than to wound the natural feelings of those who are the unfortunate objects of such charity, or compel a righteous man to violate the dictates of his own conscience. To impose a tax upon those who are subsisting wholly upon the benevolence of their friends, would be highly improper and unreasonable. It would, in fact, be imposing a penalty upon the benevolent man as a punishment for his charity, or otherwise deprive him of the very object which he wished to gain by such charitable donations: and, in all cases where this is known to the jury, they ought not to include these objects of charity in any of the classes of inhabitants in their district.

The amount of the expenses which parents are unavoidably subjected to, when they are obliged to send their children out of their own family, either for the purpose of education in any school or college, or as an apprentice, to acquire instruction to fit them for any lawful trade or profession, is certainly a very reasonable deduction, and which every such parent should be permitted to make from his supposed gross annual revenue; because, there is no sort of expenditure whatever from which the nation can derive such important advantages, as from that which is bestowed upon the education of youth. It is, however, no way inconsistent with the natural liberty of man, to require every parent to specify the names of such children, and to mention the particular places where they then reside.

It is exceedingly proper that every parent's house have a reasonable deduction from the amount of the tax imposed upon him on account of that annual revenue which remains to him for the support of his family, after all the deductions before stated have been made from his gross annual income, on account of the children which he has to maintain in his own family; and that all these deductions should be imposed upon those who have no children to maintain, because they can evidently better afford to pay it.

These seem to me to be all the deductions which any man can reasonably claim, if every other revenue law was repealed.

Juries, composed of the most intelligent inhabitants of the different districts, have certainly both means of acquiring a knowledge of the particular situations of all the different individuals who reside in their own neighbourhood, than can possibly be obtained by any other means, or by any other class of men. In these districts, for example, where the annual income of the inhabitants arises chiefly from the cultivation of land, a jury of farmers belonging to that district, upon knowing the rent paid by each tenant to his landlord, a state of which should be put into their hands, would be able to determine pretty accurately the amount of the annual profits which each of these tenants should derive from his farm. In manufacturing and mercantile towns, juries, composed of the most respectable merchants, traders, and manufacturers, would in general have an accurate knowledge of the particular situation of the different individuals in that place belonging to their respective professions, and be thereby enabled to class them with some considerable degree of accuracy.

It might be proper in particular cases, where the real situation of any individual is not sufficiently well known to the jury themselves, and where they know of any person or persons, who they have reason to believe is possessed of that knowledge to authorise them to call that person or persons before them, and question them upon oath, in what class they conceive this individual ought to be placed conformably to his gross annual income.

If any individual shall conceive that the jury have placed him in a higher class than that which is proportioned to his real income, and shall choose to appeal to the commissioners for relief, it will then fall upon himself to show cause to the commissioners, why he ought not to remain in that class, and in which of the other lower classes he ought to be placed. This disclosure of his real situation being a voluntary act and deed of his own, he can have no cause to complain.

The minds of these jurymen ought not to be perplexed with long and unnecessary instructions. It would be perfectly sufficient to require them to make oath, that they will, to the best of their knowledge and ability arrange the different inhabitants in their district, and place them in those particular classes which are most correspondent to their respective gross annual incomes, from whatever source that income may arise.

It is not at all necessary, neither would it be proper, to repeal all the present revenue laws at the same time. The laws imposing

a tax upon land, commonly called the land-tax, ought to be first repealed, and the gross amount of this tax, before any part be sold to the proprietors, should be laid upon all the proprietors of land in the three kingdoms, in proportion to their annual revenues arising from land, as determined by the jury of their different districts. I am well aware that an objection will be started here; it will be said, that it would be unjust to impose a tax upon these landed proprietors, who have already purchased their land tax. But the objection may be easily removed. It is only necessary for this purpose, that government should reconvey to each of these proprietors the same quantity of stock which they may have conveyed to government for the purchase of this land tax.

The next revenue laws which ought to be repealed, are those by which a tax is imposed upon houses, windows, &c. commonly called the assessed taxes, and all the stamp acts; and the present gross amount of these taxes should be laid upon the proprietors of land, in addition to the tax imposed upon them for their landed properties, and upon all the other classes of inhabitants who are now liable to the payment of assessed taxes, in proportion to their respective annual revenue.

The remaining revenue laws, namely, those by which a tax is imposed upon the various necessities of life, under the names of Custom-house and Excise duties, should be then repealed; and, as these taxes are at present supposed to be paid, or at least ought to be paid by every class of inhabitants in the state, in proportion to their respective annual revenues: the gross amount of the present produce of these taxes should be laid upon the landed proprietors, and upon those charged with the payment of assessed taxes, as an addition to the preceding taxes upon their income, and upon all the other classes of inhabitants in these kingdoms, in proportion to their estimated annual revenues respectively.—A LOVER OF TRUTH.

#### DEFENCE OF LORD REDESDALE.

SIR,—I expected with some impatience to have seen in your Register a defence of Lord Redesdale's letters, or at least, a refutation of Crito and the British Observer. In the Anti-jacobin for the last month, there is a very short one on the subject. But since none has yet been addressed to you, I feel myself compelled to assume the task, although little skilled in the history of Popery. The pretensions to loyalty by the Roman Catholics of Ireland during the last war, are

not more contrary to fact than the public professions of their bishops to the authorized doctrines of that Church, the acts of their popes, the explanations of their doctors, to the continued practice of people, priests, and princes. For the truth of all which I shall now refer to authentic and allowed instruments. I would refer in general to the Bullarium and Concilia Generalia, as containing many proofs of that intolerant spirit of popery which commands the extirpation of Heretics at any rate. The 3d chapter of the 4th Lateran Council, is alone conclusive on this subject, in which we meet with the following order, "if any temporal lord shall not obey within a year, (orders to extirpate Heretics) it shall be signified to the pope, who shall from that time absolve his subjects from their fidelity, and give up his country to the possession of Catholics." Such is the precept; now for the practice. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, Pius 5th issued a bull, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding obedience to her under pain of excommunication. Camden, Eliz., and Hume, &c. During the next reign orders were issued by the Pope forbidding the Catholics taking the oaths of allegiance under pain of damnation. Numberless writers have defended this deposing doctrine, as Bishop Jewel in his Apology has amply proved, and as his antagonist Harding did not deny, but justify. So Campion and Parsons, priests and others of the laity, were employed by the legates of those days to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The Gunpowder-plot was contrived by the same hands. Many priests were found killed at Edgehill fighting against Charles I. They were always conspiring against William III. and Geo. I. These, Sir, are notorious facts. Nay, so late as 1757, an act having passed the Irish Parliament to secure the Protestant succession, and containing an oath of allegiance; Burke, Popish Bishop of Ossory made upon it the following observations: "Would it not exceed the greatest absurdity imaginable, that a Catholic priest who instructs his Catholic people in the will of God, from scripture and tradition, by his discourse and actions, and nourishes them with the sacrament of the Church, should swear fidelity to King George, as long as he professeth an heterodox religion, or has a wife of that religion? Since then, and in that case, the same Catholic priest ought instantly to abjure the very King, to whom he had before sworn allegiance, &c." *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 723, Cologne edition. Turn to page 723 and you will find the Pope's legate, on a

similar subject, in the year 1768, declaring that the doctrines of no faith to be kept with Heretics, and that princes deprived by the pope, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects; are doctrines defended and contended for, by most Catholic nations; and the Holy See has frequently followed them in its practice. Which is very true. For what Protestant does not recollect, or what Papist dares deny, that the then Pope commanded a triumphant jubilee, and solemn thanks to Almighty God for the bloody, treacherous, and accursed deeds of St. Bartholomew's day; when, in despite of the most solemn oaths, at Paris alone 10,000 men were butchered in cold blood, because they were Protestants. Neither hath this diabolical spirit yet evaporated, as the History of Irish rebellions too strongly prove. It will be sufficient to detail a few facts in the last, taken from the 3d edition of Sir R. Musgrave's History. The truth of whose account is now fully ascertained, not only by the best evidence which such subjects admit, but by his having voluntarily altered, in the last editions, whatever was shewn to have been erroneous. The unbounded influence of the priests over their congregations, appears from innumerable instances, but from none more strongly, than that at their instance these semi-barbarians left off the use of whiskey, lest in a moment of drunkenness they should betray their secrets. Neither do I recollect an instance of any person being killed, who could produce a written protection from a priest. Except the propensity of the Irish to treason and murder be stronger than that of thirst, surely the influence which allayed the one might have restrained the other. If we add to this, that the Irish were in the constant habits of confession, that in the South where the rebellion was most successful, the priests were generally engaged in it; that several condemned papists declared they were persuaded to rebel by their priests, and therefore, refused their assistance when going to be executed; the only conclusion which can be drawn is evident. Of the superior clergy the conduct of some was actually treasonable, of others very dubious, of none actively loyal. What ecclesiastical censures have been inflicted on any whom the lenity of government passed by? I would particularly call your attention to the conduct of Caulfield, a popish prelate, during the massacres at Wexford. Whenever he appeared in the streets the multitude fell on their knees before him, yet did he never attempt to stem their murderous fury, which a Christian in his situation ought to have done at the hazard of his life. Nay,

from page 402, Vol. I. and other passages, he appears to have aided in the conspiracy. Nor ought we to forget Dr. Hussey's (another bishop too) threats of the vast rock just detached from the mountains' brow, which should crush all the opposers of popery. Pastoral Letter, 1796. In vol. ii. p. 455. We have a letter from a loyal priest, complaining that because he would take no part in the rebellion of 1798, he was silenced by his bishop, whom he accuses of distributing, previous to the insurrection, ready made absolutions for murders to be committed. Neither were all the priests taken or killed in arms of the lowest order, or worst education among them. However loyal then, Lord Fingall and other noblemen of that persuasion truly were, it is not the character of Roman Catholics in Ireland, neither is it the doctrine of their decrees, councils, and rules. But as to the egregious charge of intolerance and bigotry in the Irish government, made by the British Observer, I shall simply answer, that during the last 60 years, many laws have been enacted favourable, but not one injurious to the Roman Catholics. They are at present restrained from nothing but power. Why that is sought requires no *Cædipus* to conjecture.—Yours, C. R.—*April 22, 1804.*

## TO LORD REDESDALE.

MY LORD,—The sentiments, which pervade your letters to Lord Fingall, fill my mind with surprise and astonishment, as often as I turn to that singular correspondence. Attached, from motives of gratitude, to the party that promoted you to the high rank, which you now hold, you have entered into their views, with the distinguished ardour of a proselyte; you have tortured your ingenuity, to render the catholics of Ireland unpopular; but, unfortunately for your purpose, you have counteracted your own designs and those of your friends. They appear to view your conduct with silent shame; for whenever it has been incidentally the subject of discussion, not a word has been offered in extenuation of your proceedings. In fact, your statements have been proved to be erroneous, your positions false or unmeaning; and your reasoning inconclusive. The only argument, if it can be so called, which you have produced, in order to affix a charge of disloyalty on the catholics, is drawn from your own incorrect and uncandid representation of a doctrine which you have yourself sworn to support. It is unnecessary to exhort your lordship, whenever you should be again disposed to turn divine, to acquire a previous knowledge of the established re-

ligion, of which you are an official protector. The compassion, which the grossest ignorance of the 39 articles, and of the homilies and canons of the church of England, has secured you, will scarcely encourage you in future attempts of this nature.—If I carry my observations still farther, on this unpleasant subject, how will your lordship be surprised, when, after shewing you that your systematic charge against the catholics of Ireland, is destroyed not only by your own principles, as a member of the established church, but by the avowed doctrine and practice of catholics throughout the world, I proceed to prove, that it stands refuted by hourly experience, and the evidence of facts. You are pleased to assert, that the professions of loyalty, made by catholics, deserve little regard, and are given to the winds, as long as the priests of the see of Rome, refuse to consider those who dissent from them, as members of the church of Christ. To judge, from your lordship's representation, of the practical effects of the exclusive doctrine on the conduct of catholics, without any other knowledge of the question, I should suppose, that his Majesty's subjects of this persuasion, amounting in the whole united kingdom, at least to four millions, are rebels and traitors by principle, and incapable of maintaining those relations by which human society is supported; and that they should be destroyed by fire and faggot. Truly, my lord, this is the natural and direct tendency of your lordship's statement; for if catholics cannot be loyal to a protestant government, they deserve not an existence in a protestant country. Are you prepared to support the consequences of your own statement? Or do you, for a moment, think your representation agreeable to truth? Suffer me to say, without ceremony, that the least reflection will convince you of the fallacy of your reasoning. Your own observation, however inattentive, your knowledge of history, however scanty, must satisfy you, that your fine theory must yield to the weight of contrary experience. The catholics have been, my lord, and are still loyal; consequently the possibility of catholic loyalty is placed beyond a doubt. This mode of reasoning I should suppose to be conclusive, unless your lordship, after framing a system contradicted by your own religious doctrines, and the observations of mankind, should be disposed to question the old axiom of the schools, *ab actu ad potentiam valet consecutio*, and deny that the actual existence of an object imports its possibility.—As to the proof of catholic loyalty, I beg your lordship to take a view of the

different states of Europe, in which the catholic religion abounds with professors, without being the religion of the rulers. Look to Russia, to Sweden, to Denmark, to some states of Germany, and to Holland. In those countries you will find catholics, and persons of other persuasions, living in the utmost harmony and peace, and equally partaking of the emoluments of the state. The ambassador of his Danish majesty, at this day at the court of Madrid, is a catholic, and he has been employed by that sovereign, on different embassies, for a long period, with the greatest credit to his character. Your lordship will find, on a cursory examination, that the catholics of those countries, though differing from their rulers in religious belief, are distinguished by a spirit of loyalty, which reflects the highest honour on the religion they profess. In all my communications with the continent of Europe, I have not yet heard, that any lord high chancellor has thought it necessary to read to them lectures on loyalty, or to induce them to sacrifice any part of their religious code to the safety of the state.—If your lordship will direct your view to the transactions of our own country, you will find such a display of catholic loyalty, as scarcely any age or nation can exhibit. Examine, my lord, the conduct of catholics under the most trying circumstances, and in the most critical periods of our history: scrutinize their behaviour in the days of Elizabeth, on the prospect of invasion by a catholic sovereign, the most formidable at that time in Europe.—Even bigotry and incredulity have done justice to the excellence of their conduct on that occasion. Review their behaviour through every successive period to the present time; see their acts not in the partial accounts of prejudiced enemies of that persuasion, but in the authentic documents of historical information; weigh the conduct of the whole body, and take an enlarged view of the subject, without being blinded by a mist of prejudice, with which the preachers of the 5th of November, in their elegant rhapsodies, never fail to cover that much-injured race of men; do this, my lord, and I affirm, without the smallest fear of contradiction, that you will be filled with admiration, at an unexampled, and an unbroken display of loyalty. If your lordship will take the trouble to inspect the actions of the great body of the Irish catholics for a century past, from the treaty of Limerick, for instance, to the present time, you will find, that under a frightful series of penalties and disabilities, under the severest burden of oppressive and persecuting laws,

they have displayed innumerable instances of the most distinguished loyalty. Their conduct is a most satisfactory refutation of the sophistry, by which you have, in vain, attempted to prove, that catholics cannot be loyal to a protestant government.—Suffer me here, my lord, to repeat my astonishment at the extraordinary and unparalleled conduct of your lordship. That a Lord High Chancellor should seriously produce a charge of disloyalty against the catholics of Ireland, in a series of letters to a respectable nobleman of that persuasion, a charge which affects the catholics of the whole united kingdom, as well as every catholic in the universe; that he should ground this charge on a speculative article of doctrine, which he holds in common with the catholics; that he should obstinately persist in it in defiance of hourly experience, and the evidence of facts, is an event, which, replete as the present age is with wonderful occurrences, I did not expect to witness. The more I reflect on the subject, my astonishment is increased.—I am well assured, my lord, from unequivocal appearances, that your conduct is repugnant to the feelings of the British nation, and to that noble and generous spirit, by which this country has been long distinguished. To revive religious animosities is deemed ungenerous, and, under the present circumstances, is attended with peculiar danger. It is now a favourite and prevailing maxim, that all animosities arising from a difference of religious belief, should be buried in oblivion; that universal forbearance and charity should prevail, and that fresh zeal and vigour in maintaining our dearest rights should be infused into every breast. Whoever adopts a contrary conduct, whoever renews the exploded outcry against popery, and thus rouses the resentment of four millions of his Majesty's subjects, whoever wantonly questions the loyalty of one-fourth of the population of the United Kingdom, that man, whatever be his rank, must expect to meet with the censure of his fellow subjects. *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*—I cannot refrain from noticing an insinuation against the loyalty of the catholics contained in your last letter to Lord Kingall. You represent the pope, at least as a temporal prince, as a vassal of France, the avowed enemy of this country; and under such a circumstance, you cannot believe, that any honest and conscientious endeavours will be used by the catholic clergy, to diffuse among the people sentiments of loyalty to a protestant government. Such an insulting declaration I should never have believed that one nobleman could transmit

to another. Have you yet to learn, my lord, that the obedience, which catholics show to the head of their church, relates to spiritual concerns only? and that their loyalty to their sovereign, is wholly unconnected with the temporal power of the pope? Under every vicissitude of this power, they have maintained firm and unshaken their fidelity to their sovereign: and what possible ground can you allege for such a charge? Is not the known conduct of Dr. Troy, Dr. Moylen, Dr. Coppinger, Dr. Dillon, and the rest of that respectable class of catholics, an explicit and actual disavowal of such an accusation? Had I been the author of this unjust insinuation, I must confess, I never should, after such an occurrence, have lifted up my head in the presence of a catholic clergyman.—Permit me now, my lord, to take my final leave of your lordship for ever. I have examined your letters, with at least as much attention as they deserve; I have corrected your misstatements, I have refuted your reasonings. I hope I have afforded you such a lesson for your future conduct, as will prevent you from recurring to a similar proceeding; and I trust shall never have again to perform so unpleasant a task.

—THE BRITISH OBSERVER, dated 26th April, 1804.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF SHIP OWNERS OF GREAT-BRITAIN, HELD AT THE LONDON TAVERN, ON THURSDAY THE 22D DAY OF MARCH, 1804.

ROBERT CURLING, Esq. in the Chair—The Secretary read the report of the Committee, stating, "That the Committee deemed it necessary to request the attention of the meeting to the several objects which had been noticed by them since their appointment. —The Society, it was to be observed, was instituted in 1802, in consequence of the depreciated state of the shipping interest, and the various inconveniencies to which Ship Owners were then liable. Their first and most important object had been to endeavour to convince the King's ministers of the impolicy of imposing any direct tax on shipping: and they are satisfied, that in case an investigation into the actual state of the navigation of the country had taken place, and which was so earnestly desired by them, much of the distress which is continued to be felt by the shipping interest would have been avoided; their statements would have been found correct, and not falacious or exaggerated, as they were so industriously represented to be; and the coun-

try would not at the present time have had to regret the injurious operation of the application of so new a principle of taxation in a maritime country, the continued suspension of the Navigation Act, and the emigration of many brave native seamen, who are either now in the employment of America, or in the service of the enemy. This object the Committee had not been able completely to attain: they, however, hope, that the frequent recurrence to these points, and the repeated intimations which have been given to many of the members of the legislature on the subject, will occasion, at no distant day, a parliamentary inquiry into the actual state of the navigation of Great-Britain. The Committee forbear at present commenting further on these most important objects to the country, or to expatiate more fully on the present depressed state of the shipping interest and the causes which have occasioned it; they are too obvious to need enumeration, and the ultimate ruinous consequences to be expected from them can only be averted by a strict adherence to the provisions of the Navigation Act, which our ancestors considered so essentially requisite to the glory and welfare of the empire, and by affording to British Ship Owners such facilities as will at least enable them to navigate their ships upon an equal footing with foreigners. — The other subjects which had come before the Committee were the following, viz.—1st. The serious inconvenience many Ship Owners have felt, and still continue to feel, from being obliged to take out licenses and give bonds to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, from the particular construction and build of their ships. The subject was considered of so much consequence, that it had been referred to a sub-committee to take the same into their consideration, and point out not only the several inconveniences resulting from the regulation, but the means by which they might be remedied, without any injury whatever to the revenue; and to report the same to the Committee: accordingly a memorial had been presented to the Lords Committee of Trade on the subject; but the Committee are sorry to observe, that their lordships have refused to make any alteration in the regulations of the Commissioners of the Customs. — 2dly. The next subject which had been submitted to the consideration of the Committee, was the claim recently set up by the Trustees of Ramsgate Harbour for payment of the harbour dues on colliers returning in ballast coastwise, and from Guernsey or Jersey: and the Committee had, at the request of

the Ship Owners at Sunderland and Scarborough, taken the opinion of a very eminent lawyer on the subject; and it appeared by that opinion, that the Trustees were not warranted by the act in demanding the harbour dues on colliers returning in ballast coastwise, or from Guernsey or Jersey, as before stated. In consequence of that opinion, a case had been by consent submitted to the consideration of two of the Judges, and now remained for a second argument. — 3dly. Another important subject which had been submitted to the Committee, was the rates of pilotage from the Downs to Gravesend, and from thence to London: and as the several acts respecting the pilotage from the Downs and Orfordness to London will shortly expire, a Sub-committee had appointed to take the same into consideration, and to report to the Committee what, in conjunction with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-house, they may think will be most proper to be done in that respect. — 4th. Another subject of the greatest magnitude to the Ship Owners in the Port of London, which had engaged the most serious and anxious attention of the Committee, was the disputes in the autumn of 1802, between the Ship Builders and their workmen; and in consequence of the manner in which those differences had been adjusted by the builders who had applied to the Committee on the subject, the Society had at a general meeting entered into some resolutions expressive of their disapprobation of the motives of the Ship Builders which appeared to them to have led to the conclusion of those disputes. — 5th. The Committee had, during the last session of Parliament, deemed it expedient, from motives of public duty, to oppose the duties which were attempted by the Bell Rock Light-house Bill to be imposed on all ships passing the line of the latitude of Bell Rock, on which a light-house was proposed to be erected, so far as such duties would have affected the Baltic trade; and it appears that the duties which were to have been charged, would have produced upwards of £10,000 per annum to that light-house, but for the timely interference of this Committee. — 6th. The Committee had likewise obtained, in the last session of Parliament, an exemption from the payment of the duties (usually called dock dues) imposed on all ships entering inwards or clearing outwards from the port of London in ballast, by the Act for the Improvement of the Port of London, which, with the fees, &c. amounted to upwards of £4,000 per annum. — In addition to the object

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fore stated, many other matters had been  
identally submitted to the consideration  
of the Committee, who had not been in-  
formed either of the peculiar situation of  
any Ship Owners, whose masters had in-  
advertently lost or mislaid their Mediterra-  
nean passes; or the many inconveniences  
which had arisen from several of the regu-  
lations adopted at the West-India Docks,  
at which, from the explanations recently  
given by the directors, they were led to be-  
lieve will be in future avoided. — The  
Committee flattered themselves, that the  
shipping interest of the country will be most  
materially benefited by the permanent estab-  
lishment of the society; its principal ob-  
ject being to give effect to the old maritime  
principles of the country, and the establish-  
ments which have arisen out of them. The  
Committee have not thought it necessary to  
notice particularly the various papers and  
documents which they had printed relative  
to the Tonnage Duty; but beg leave to refer  
to them, and again to declare, "that their  
investigation of the several subjects which  
had been submitted to their consideration  
since the establishment of the Society,  
had been conducted with the greatest  
impartiality, and that they had not been  
on any occasion influenced by private  
views or party feeling; and, that their  
anxiety to give permanency to the estab-  
lishment of the Society, arises from no  
other motive than a due sense of justice  
to their country and to themselves—a  
high sentiment of the national import-  
ance of the shipping interest, and the re-  
membrance that to it is to be attributed  
the glory and greatness of the British Em-  
pire." — Resolved unanimously, That the  
Report of the Committee be confirmed.

#### ARTILLERY OFFICERS.

SIR, — In the numberless letters inserted  
in your Register, there has not been the  
slightest notice taken of the Ordnance. The  
artillery which forms so important a part of  
the interior strength of the empire lies, I  
know not why, completely in the back  
ground, compared to the high estimation  
other countries hold theirs in. It surely  
ought to be a matter of regret, that an ar-  
tillery officer in our service, after devoting  
the early part of his life to the study of his  
profession, should, when he attains a perfect  
knowledge of it, be thrown aside. Yet, ex-  
cept in some very rare instances, the fact is  
strictly true. A young gentleman after re-  
ceiving a classical education, is entered a  
cadet at Woolwich Academy, about the age  
of fourteen; before he receives his commis-

sion, he must go through a tedious and la-  
borious course of mathematics and fortifica-  
tion, he must be thoroughly acquainted  
with the French language, with drawing,  
fencing; and every liberal art that adorns  
the gentleman, and forms the true military  
character. With all these qualifications,  
and uniting a perfect knowledge of infantry  
movements with his own professional skill,  
the artillery officer when he arrives to the  
rank of second colonel, about thirty years  
experience and service, in nearly the prime  
of his age, and with all his faculties in full  
vigour, is thrown aside as useless, and inca-  
pable of further duty. The rank of colonel  
of a battalion is a decided death-blow to his  
military hopes; and, when in other coun-  
tries, generals who have been brought up to  
the study of artillery and engineering, are  
preferred in consequence of their scientific  
skill; here, when that rank is obtained, it  
obliges the possessor to put on a brown coat,  
a round hat, and to sit down the remainder  
of his days as well as the disappointment of  
his dearest hopes will allow him. — I am,  
Sir, yours, &c. — MILES.

#### SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

MR. COBBETT, — I, who now address you  
from the Oxford Coffee-house, Strand, have  
been settled for some years on a college  
living, about ninety miles west of the me-  
tropolis, where I keep constant and canon-  
ical residence, except that I generally con-  
trive an elopement to town for a week or  
two in the spring, to take my seat very so-  
berly at a concert or an oratorio. I can do  
this without much difficulty, as being, to my  
misfortune, an old bachelor; but I have a  
friend, the incumbent of a parish adjacent  
to mine, who, amidst the cares and pleasures  
of domestic life, has been for these fifteen or  
twenty years, rivetted to his little abode in  
the country—which he would not have  
quitted now, but that he found it impossi-  
ble to obtain, otherwise than at the foun-  
tain head, a satisfactory answer to some  
queries he had to submit to the Commis-  
sioners under the Property Act, respecting a  
sum of money which he holds in the funds,  
partly for himself, and partly in trust for  
others. The case, which is by no means in-  
tricate or complicated, might possibly in-  
terest your readers, were I to give them an  
abridgment of it. I think I might com-  
press the question into six or eight columns  
of your next Register-Extraordinary, if you  
would grant me the privilege of your small-  
est type. — Well, Sir, at my worthy friend's  
request, I agreed that we should come to  
London as fellow-travellers. I anticipated

with pleasure his amazement at the revolutions which time, trade, and taste, had effected in the metropolis; and having lived to be astonished at nothing myself, I was perfectly contented on the present occasion to wonder at second-hand.—His curiosity gratified, he began to think, a little reluctantly, on the business which had brought him to London, and in return for all the raree-shews to which I had introduced him, he begged me to accompany him to the office newly established in Threadneedle Street, where cases such as his are adjusted. Indeed, Mr. Cobbett, I was very amply repaid for my trouble; and he must have been singularly entertained by West-India Docks, Shakespeare Galleries, Invisible Girls, Irish Giants, and Panoramas, if his amusement counterbalanced mine.—I fear, Sir, you are yourself a very obdurate offender. I fear that you very seldom are led to inspect the edifices in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange. But were you at all open to conviction, I am sure you would admire the mechanical wonders of the place in question, as much as the Trojan hero, when cast on the shore of the rising Carthage, was struck with the wonders of their *BYASA*, the prototype of ours.

*Miratur molem Eneas, magalia quondam;  
Miratur porias, trepitumque, et strata viarum.*

—When my friend first entered this magic saloon, as his mind was more fully occupied than mine, he paid very little attention to the scene around him, and abruptly inquired of one of the clerks, if he might speak to his principal. "Certainly, Sir," was the reply. "Go to the gentleman in 'the wig.'" To the gentleman in the wig he went, and had no reason to complain of an uncourteous reception. It would be easy to name this good man, but, perhaps, not delicate—shall we say, a *breach* of good nature, and a *breach* of good manners?—The question which my companion had to submit to the decision of official sagacity being, as I said, perfectly simple, the worthy commissioner, with the assistance of two subaltern clerks, was able to give him a satisfactory answer in a trice. I scarcely think that an hour and fifty minutes elapsed, while reference was made to the act, and to its sapient explanation, before he obtained complete information as to the object of his inquiry.—I, meanwhile, was a very "near observer" of the curiosities around me; and, at first, having in my early days been more

than a smatterer in mathematical researches, I began to calculate into how many thousand recesses, cells, divisions, and subdivisions the interior of the edifice was parcelled; but its extreme height, its complicated mechanism, the small size of the letters of reference, and the constant interruption of anxious querists, confused my attempt at investigating in detail what I still was able to admire in a general survey.—Imagine, Sir, a rectangular room, somewhat less than twenty feet in height, completely fitted up with pigeon-holes, on the plan of Parkinson's Museum, (or such as were humourously assigned to the Abbé Siéyes for nests of revolutions) adapted to receive returns, appeals, certificates, and questions, from, as I believe, every parish or district in the kingdom. In order to facilitate access to the upper regions, five or six step ladders, enormously high, are arranged in one corner of the office, by means of which the "gentleman in the wig" and his fellow-labourers may be enabled, in a moment, to ascend to the most aerial place of reference.—I am sure, Sir, had you witnessed the scene as I did, you must, at least, have been struck with the sublimity of the place—at the same time it must be confessed, that it a little smells of the lamp—the original idea having probably arisen from the feats of the gentry, who towards the close of day so nimbly perambulate the metropolis with their portable ladders, which they charitably mount and descend, to bestow illuminations on their fellow-citizens.—Be this as it may, and let the public opinion be divided as it will with respect to the qualifications necessary to form a prime minister, it can no longer be a questionable point, that a very considerable degree of agility, an unvertiginous head, and a light pair of heels are absolutely requisite to qualify his minor satellites in the fiscal department for a proper discharge of the duties of their elevated station. Allowing them to be possessed of these necessary qualifications, I conceive the office to be not without its agrements. The state figure-dancers cannot but be amused by the transitions from cool calculation to warm circulation—from sedentary to salutary employment—from running up a sum to running up a flight of steps. It is true; that their delicacy may be hurt, and their *esprit du corps* a little shocked at being so often put over one another's heads; but to excel in these ingenious and skilful performances may in time become an object

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of laudable ambition, and from "the gentleman in the wig" to the lowest, (perhaps, I should say the *biggest*) clerk in his department, every one will be tempted to exclaim, "If I become not a ladder as well as another man, a plague on my bringing up!"—In the mean-time, though it must on all hands be agreed, that the parties in question are highly exalted, their situation at present appears less to be envied from its elevation, than to be pitied from its danger: and as I know that the Weekly Political Register forms a constant part of many a great man's reading, I wish to suggest, before I conclude my letter, a few propositions, likely, as I think, to remove many of the difficulties attendant on this "painful pre-eminence." I was half tempted to inquire, if the Premier, by way of experiment, had ventured to ascend any of these ladders himself, and soar into the higher regions of financial machinery; but I recollected the prudent forbearance of Dr. Chiron at the Court of Thetis\*, and deemed the inquiry unnecessary. I could not help, however, feeling for the awkwardness with which these be-wigged and be-spectacled gentlemen must in the first instance enter on the duties of their office.—

to rise—perchance to fall—aye, there's the rub.  
 'Tis crack'd! crush'd ribs! there's the respect,  
 which makes  
 the clerk, all trembling, in some corner lurk;  
 and shun the dread ascent—

—But these, Mr. Cobbett, are only spots on the sun; little moles on a beautiful face, which may rather be considered as ornamenting than defacing it. You, who entertain so profound a respect for "the old lady in Threadneedle Street," will be the first to admire this plenteous provision for her honied stores, while, like the queen-bee, she may deposit in every geometrically-framed cell (the nectary of her sweets) her mystic egg, as a precious germ of future taxation.

—Hinc, nescio quâ dulcedine læta  
 Progeniem et nidor foreat—mirâ arte recentes  
 Excudat ceras, et mella tenacia fingat.

—I once remember hearing the 'squire of my parish say, that while he was resident at one of the courts of Germany, he was highly amused by examining the closet in which the celebrated Leibnitz once carried on his calculations. It was a sort of hexangular box, with little apertures for the admission

Thus Chiron advised Madam Thetis to take,  
 And dip her poor child in the Stygian lake—  
 But the wary old Doctor was not such an elf  
 As ever to venture his carcase himself!

New Bath Guide, p. 48.

of light and air, entirely surrounded, even to the lining of the door, with little pigeon-holes to receive the sage's ideas, so as to be at every moment embodied, preserved, and classified. Near the public library where this curious piece of mechanism is shewn, is a bust of the philosopher, under an elegant cupola supported by pillars, with a simple and classical inscription, comprised in two words, "GENIO LEIBNITZII." When my friend pulled me by the sleeve, and told me his business was adjusted, I was in the act of fixing, in my imagination, on a spot under this mystic roof, where the features of your friend the Doctor, cast in lead, or hewn out of a solid block, might be most happily introduced, with the well-earned tribute of applause, "GENIO ADDINGTONII."—But to my proposals, for I feel that I have trespassed too long on your patience.—First, I would institute a gymnasium for youth, designed to fill the office of clerks under this establishment, where adepts in the ladder-dancing art might, by degrees, teach them the manœuvres of their perilous profession. In the case of the well-known probationary odes, M. Delpini filled a distinguished station, as assessor to the nobleman who awarded the prize—a similar office should, in the present case, be awarded to M. Bologna, or some other of Mr. Astley's great men, burnt out from over the water, and now displaying their talents to the amusement and edification of Goodman's Fields. Five years might, perhaps, be considered as a sufficient time of probation—from which a rateable deduction might be made in favour of those ingenious youths, who had already exercised their talents in the services of lamplighters, bricklayers, or chimney-sweepers, or whose early life had been spent in the agility of naval ladder-climbing.—Secondly, as improvement must in this case be progressive, in order to provide for the immediate emergency, I would recommend, among the many hundred of extra clerks which the existing system will make necessary, that some of the *figuranti* from the Royalty Theatre, from Sadler's Wells, from the Royal Circus, and other places of a similar description, should be engaged in the service. A good pair of heels, if we may believe the proverb, seem to remedy the defects of a bad head; but in the present instance I believe it would not be difficult to establish the position, that the statute under which they would be called on to act is equally intelligible to the capacity of every one of his Majesty's liege subjects, from the highest to the lowest.—In favour of my third proposition, the voice of philanthropy

speaks so loudly as to supersede all necessity for discussion. Closely adjoining to the scene of danger, I would recommend the establishment of a board of surgery, or a sick and hurt office, where humane and experienced practitioners should be constantly in attendance, with bandages, plaisters, salves, poultices, lancets, truniquets, trapans, &c. &c. in order to afford immediate relief to the unhappy sufferers, who must inevitably from time to time meet with accidents in the discharge of their duty. On the same principle it might be proper to found an hospital, or college, for maimed and invalided calculators.—Lastly, as to prevent is always better than to remedy evils, I would fain have it submitted to the Society for improving the Condition of Chimney-sweepers, to offer a liberal premium for the invention of some mechanical process, by which access might be had to these dangerous heights, without putting in jeopardy the lives of so many of his Majesty's liege and valuable subjects. In the mean-time it might not be amiss to make interest at Drury Lane Theatre for the adaptation of the rope and pulley machinery, which you, Mr. Cobbett, and the public in general, have admired this winter in the spectacle of Cinderella, by which the "gentleman in the wig" and his co-adjutors might be gently and safely raised, so as to form any given angle with the horizon, and with equal safety and gentleness let down to the ground again, like the chubby-faced cupids at the theatre. The effect would be picturesque—the apparatus might be easily introduced, and the PROPERTY-MEN, in one case, retained to serve the public in another, under a similar denomination.—I leave it to wiser heads than mine to expand and improve on these plans, concerning which I have only suggested the hasty ideas that occurred to me in a visit not exceeding two hours. You, Sir, who do not seem greatly enamoured of the political and financial measures of the present moment, will scarcely give me credit for having seriously approved this ladder-system; but, smile as you may, nothing can be more true than the assertion, that whatever may be his opinion of the wisdom which *set it up*, your present correspondent, who is somewhat corpulent, and a little advanced in years, would be the last man in the King's dominions who would wish to *run it down*.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.—  
ANTI CLIMAX.

## PUBLIC PAPERS.

CIRCULAR NOTE from Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Foreign Ministers re-

sident at the Court of London, dated 30th April, 1804.

The experience which all Europe must have had of the conduct of the government of France, would have induced his Majesty to treat any charges which might have been brought by them against his government, with silence and contempt, if the very extraordinary and unauthorised answers which many of the ministers of foreign powers have thought proper to return to a recent communication of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, had not given to the subject of that communication a greater degree of importance than it would otherwise have possessed. His Majesty has therefore commanded me to declare, that he trusts it cannot be necessary for him to repel, with the scorn and indignation which it deserves, that most unfounded and atrocious calumny, that his government were parties to any project of assassination; an accusation most falsely and calumniously advanced under the same authority against members of his Majesty's former government in the last war; an accusation inconsistent with his Majesty's honour, and with the known character of the British nation; and so completely unsupported by even any shadow of proof, that it may justly be presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment, for the sole purpose of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of that sanguinary deed which, in violation of the Law of Nations, and of the plainest dictates of honour and humanity, has been recently perpetrated by the direct order of the First Consul of France.—That his Majesty's government should disregard the sentiments of such of the inhabitants of France as are justly dissatisfied with the government of that country; that they should refuse to listen to their designs for liberating their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it now groans, or to aid and assist them as far as such designs are fair and justifiable, would be inconsistent with the duties which, under circumstances like the present, every wise and just government owes to itself and to the world in general.—It is an acknowledged right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may happen to be at war. The expediency of acting upon this right (even if the right were in any degree doubtful) would, in the present case, be most fully sanctioned; not only by the actual state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever since the commencement of the present war, has maintained a communication with the disaffected in his Majesty's dominions, particularly in Ireland, and has actually assembled, on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels for the purpose of aiding their designs against that part of his United Kingdom.—Under these circumstances his Majesty's government would not indeed be warranted in foregoing their right to support, as far as is consistent with those principles of the Law of Nations, which all civilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of such of the inhabitants of France as may profess hostility to its present government. They feel, in common with all Europe, an anxious desire to see established in that country an order of things more consistent with its own happiness, and with the security of surrounding nations. But if this cannot be accomplished, they are justified on the strictest principles of self-defence, in endeavouring to cripple the exertions, to distract the operations, and to con-

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found the projects of a government, whose avowed system of warfare is not merely to distress the commerce, to reduce the power, or to abridge the dominions of its enemy; but to carry devastation and ruin into the very heart of the British Empire. — In the application of these principles, his Majesty has directed me further to declare, that his government have never authorised any one act which will not stand the test of the strictest principles of justice, and the known and avowed practice of all ages. — If any minister accredited by his Majesty to a foreign court, has held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he has done no more than ministers under similar circumstances have been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their Sovereign was at war; and much less than the ministers and commercial agents of France in neutral countries can be proved to have done with regard to the disaffected in parts of his Majesty's dominions. In conducting, therefore, such a correspondence he would not in any degree have violated his public duty. A minister in a foreign country is bound by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected in the country to which he is accredited, as well as from any act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to those countries with which his Sovereign is at war. His acts respecting them may be praise-worthy or blameable, according to the nature of the acts themselves; but they would not constitute any violation of his public character, unless they militated against the peace or security of the country to which he was accredited. — But of all governments pretending to be civilized, that of France has the least right to appeal to the Law of Nations. With what confidence can they appeal to that law, who, from the commencement of hostilities, have been in the course of constantly violating it? They promised their protection to such of the subjects of England as were resident in France, and might be desirous of remaining there after the recall of his Majesty's ambassador. They revoked this promise without any previous notice, and condemned those very persons to be prisoners of war, and still retain them as such, in defiance of their own engagements, and of the universal usage of all civilized nations. They applied this new and barbarous rule even to individuals who had the protection and authority of French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts, to return in safety through France to their own country. They gave directions that an English packet should be seized in one of the ports of Holland, though their ambassador in that country had antecedently engaged that, until notice to the contrary was given, the packets of the respective countries should pass in safety. — They have detained and condemned a vessel in a French port, which was sent there as a matter of indulgence for the purpose of conveying either the French governor of one of the several islands which had been conquered by his Majesty's arms. — Their proceedings with respect to the garrison of St. Lucia have not been less extraordinary. The principal fort of that island was taken by assault, but the garrison was allowed all the privileges of prisoners of war, and suffered to proceed to France upon an understanding that a proportionate number of English prisoners should, upon their return, be set at liberty; yet notwithstanding

this indulgence on the part of the British commander, to which, from the nature of the case the French garrison could not have the smallest pretension, not a single English prisoner has been restored to this country. — Such has been the conduct of the French government with respect to the power with whom they are at war. What has been their conduct to those with whom they have remained at peace? — Is there a treaty they have not broken? — Is there a neighbouring territory whose independence they have not violated? — It is for the powers on the continent to determine how long they will tolerate such unparalleled outrages: but is it too much to say that if such a course of proceeding on the part of any government can be suffered to continue without resistance or controul, there must soon cease to exist that salutary system of public law, by which the communities of Europe have for ages maintained and enforced the sacred obligations of humanity and justice? I have the honour to be with the highest consideration. — Sir, your most obedient humble servant, &c. &c. &c.

*NOTE from the Baron de Montgelas, Minister of the Elector of Bavaria, to Mr. Drake, dated Munich, March 31, 1804.*

The Undersigned, &c. has the express command of his Electoral Highness, to communicate to Mr. Drake the annexed printed papers, and to state to him that the originals in Mr. Drake's own hand writing are now before him. — His Electoral Highness is deeply penetrated with grief at the discovery that his capital has been the centre point in a correspondence, which is so inconsistent with the mission which his Excellency Mr. Drake was invested at this Court; and he owes it to the dignity and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from this moment it is impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his Court. — Already two of his Electoral Highness's subjects, who are compromised in Mr. Drake's correspondence, are arrested at Munich, because they have acted in a manner inconsistent with the law of nations. — The Undersigned is likewise charged to declare, that his Electoral Highness knows too well the noble and magnanimous sentiments of his Britannic Majesty and the English nation, to suppose that their conduct on this occasion can be liable to the smallest reproach. They will hasten to declare themselves directly to his Majesty, and to deposit in his bosom the profound grief they feel, while they withdraw their confidence from the minister, who was appointed to represent his Majesty at this Court. The Elector is perfectly convinced that his Britannic Majesty will, on this occasion, necessarily so painful to him, see a new proof of the high esteem he entertains for his Majesty, and of that good will of which he has given so many proofs to the Electoral House.

#### FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

*Second Report of the Grand Judge, respecting the plots of the person named Drake, Minister from England at Munich, and of the person named Spencer Smith, Minister from England, at Stuttgard, against France, and the person of the First Consul, dated Paris, April 11, 1804, and signed, REGNIER.*

**CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL.** — My conjectures are verified. Mr. Drake is not the only agent of England whose political mission is merely the plausible mask of a hidden ministry of seduction and insurrection. I have the honour to place before

your eyes, papers, which prove that Mr. Spencer Smith, diplomatic agent of England in the States of Wurtemberg, after the example of Mr. Drake, has occupied himself, since his arrival at his place of residence, only in prostituting his public character, his influence, and the gold of his government, to that infamous ministry.—Mr. Spencer Smith has suffered a discovery of the secret part which formed the real object of his diplomatic mission. I present to the First Consul an enigmatical letter, which this minister has written to M. Lelievre de Saint Remi, one of his agents in Holland; this agent, spy, emigrant, and who has received his pardon, was already known to the police; but before I had any one of the parts of his correspondence with Mr. Spencer Smith, I knew by other reports, that when he was about to obtain his amnesty, which he procured in Pluviose, year 11, he quitted Séz, his place of birth, in Nièvre, the same year, in order to go to Cambray; and that, on the 2d of last Frimaire, he had gone to Holland, there to serve under the name of Pruneau, and to follow there the double direction of a Frenchman and a spy, named Le Clerc, whom the British ministry supported at Abbeville, and that of an accredited spy, named Spencer Smith; whom, for the purpose of covering his designs, that same ministry had invested with a diplomatic character. (See the pieces 8, 9, . . . , &c.). I further knew, by papers equally numerous, and not less instructive, seized on the spy at Abbeville, that Mr. Spencer Smith, before he quitted London, had entered into such intimate connexions with a general committee of Espionage, established by the above administration, and the direction of which was entrusted to the Abbé Rattel, that he had demanded and obtained of that committee a confidential secretary named Pericaud, who was to follow the secret correspondence, and to receive and communicate all the necessary documents to the agents in Holland, the spies on the coast, and the conspirators in Paris. The letters to Lelievre, the credit for 2000 Louis d'ors given on the house of Ozy at Rotterdam, the cypher, the enigmatical letter, No. 7, are of the hand-writing of this Pericaud; and thus it will be seen, that Mr. Spencer Smith is gone to his residence with all the exterior of a diplomatic minister from England; that is to say, with sympathetic inks, watch-words to communicate with all the spies, bills of exchange to reward their services, and a confidential intermediate agent, to follow up their proceedings and to direct them, without committing himself.—It is necessary to recur once more to Mr. Drake. The two reports which I lay before you, Citizen First Consul, will give you an account of a mission to that minister, by Citizen Rosey, Captain and Adjutant Major of the 9th regiment of the line in garrison at Strasburgh, whom Mr. Drake was very willing to employ as agent of a pretended general, who was to stir up four departments, to draw around him the French army, to overthrow your government, to instal in its stead a democratic directory, and finally to put this phantom of power, and all France, at the discretion of the English government.—I should hesitate to present to you these monstrous absurdities, if I had not to lay before you an original letter from Mr. Drake, backed by considerable sums of gold, counted by Mr. Drake, and deposited at my office by Citizen Rosey. This letter serves as a proof of the accuracy of the reports of the French agent, and ought to be published, because the odious particulars which it contains,

give additional colouring to the picture of infamy which Mr. Drake has himself delineated of his incendiary diplomacy, in the first part of his correspondence.—Mr. Drake replied to the pretended general. He acknowledges the receipt of his Envoy with his credentials. He congratulates himself on the harmony subsisting between him and the Committee of Disorganization, over which the general presides. ‘Your views,’ says he, complacently, ‘are quite conformable to mine, and I need not enlarge further on this point’—But he requires (and here he follows the first vagaries of his predecessor Wickham) that provisionally they should secure two strong places; Huningen by all means, and Strasburg, if possible.—By this means only could they depend upon a sure communication. Then would Mr. Drake take his residence near the Rhine, and it will suffice to inform him immediately of the moment fixed for commencing the operations, and of the precise periods when farther assistance will be necessary, as well as of the amount of the succours required, that he may have time to take measures to provide for the same, and that the operations may not fail for want of support. (See No. 6).—However, the most important point is not the taking of places, and securing stages for the safe arrival of subsidies. First of all, we must disorganize the army. Mr. Drake complains of being left uninformed of the progress which the agents of the committee may have made to gain over some among them; but he trusts to their zeal. He supposes, with confidence, that the attempts tried with this view have completely succeeded, and that they are certain of a powerful diversion from that quarter; without this aid, he solemnly declares, your operations will be confined to cause three or four departments to rise, which can never succeed upon the long run, on the supposition that the First Consul retains a power over his troops sufficient to make them march against you.—The disquietude, it will be easily believed, is the prevailing idea of Mr. Drake; it seizes him, it occupies him continually; however, he has found an admirable expedient to recover his courage. ‘You should,’ says he, ‘offer the soldiers a small increase of pay beyond what they receive of the present government.’—Worthy discovery of a corrupt minister, of a government which weighs with gold every action, and every human affection! Nothing, according to them, can resist this gold, which is above every thing; and the French army, making honour its idol, attached to it by the glory of a thousand battles, and of ten years victories; this army, which spurns seduction, because the seducers and seduced are the greatest cowards: this army, I say, yielding to the attraction of a wretched increase of pay, shall sacrifice whatever is most dear to it, all its most honourable recollections; in short, its government, its liberty, to the irreconcilable enemy of their country! What horror! what madness! . . . . I shall not be more prolix on these disgusting details; besides, to insist long on the indignation which the political and military projects of Mr. Drake inspire, is to do them too much honour: they are both ridiculous and absurd in an eminent degree; and I think it is a very appropriate punishment for him, to give up to the contempt and ridicule of the public the enterprizes of this minister, still more credulous, more awkward, and more weak than wicked.—An English minister, such as Mr. Drake, cannot be punished by obloquy. This can only mortify men who feel the price of virtue, and know that of ho-

hour; but Mr. Drake is proud and vain. The profits of his secret missions must have made him wealthy and covetous. He will be punished, when he shall know, that the revolt of the four departments, the capture of Huningen, the seduction of the army, the liberation of Picbégou, Moreau, of Georges, and his confederates; the existence of the Diplomatic Committee; in short, the talents, the credit and projects of this demagogue general, by nature endowed with a sublime eloquence, an imposing figure, and who is quite disposed to effect, at his call, the overthrow of France, are chimeras, with which the Prefect of Strasburg has liked to feed his simple credulity.—He will be punished, when he learns that all his bulletins, which were sent to London, by extraordinary messengers, communicated to every court, hawked about by the English ministers as far as Constantinople, and of which traces are found even in the discussions of Parliament, were fabrications, and contained nothing either true or probable; that before they were transmitted to him, they had been communicated to the agents of the Police of Paris, who blushed on reading them; and could not recover from their surprise, on seeing that fables, framed with so little care and trouble, could charm Mr. Drake, and serve as a basis for the operations and calculations of the cabinet.—Mr. Drake will be punished, when he shall know, that his bulls, his gold, his correspondence, those of his colleagues, the spies at Rotterdam, Abbeville, Paris, and Munich, are the sport of men, who, by approaching him and his colleague at Sturgard, by watching their steps; and by studying their character, have learned and can teach Europe, that a ministry, which renders itself despicable by the choice and by the conduct of its diplomatic agents, cannot inspire either fear or confidence in the governments of the Continent; and that the insolence and corruption, which that ministry employ as weapons to intimidate or lead astray the Councils of Sovereigns, do now find a powerful antidote in the discovery of the meanness, the immorality and stupidity of their diplomacy.—Concerning Mr. Spencer Smith, I have strong reasons to think that the operations entrusted to him are not confined to these plots; that he directs the events which are taking place in the Canton of Zurich; and that the disturbances, by which that miserable district is again agitated, are owing to his gold and his intrigues.—Citizen First Consul, perhaps I transgress the bounds of my function; but I must tell you, with that truth which you love to hear, France cannot suffer a hostile power to establish, on neutral territory, accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the republic. You are at the head of a nation great enough, strong, and brave enough, to obtain, by your right, an absolute neutrality. You have constantly commanded me not to suffer that conspiracies be framed in any part of our immense territory, against any existing government; and already, during the short space of time elapsed since I have been entrusted with the administration of the police, have I repeatedly annulled machinations which threatened the King of Naples and the Holy See; I have pursued as far as Strasburg the forgers of Vienna bank-notes. All these facts have proved how sincere your wish is to secure established governments against every kind of propagandas and plots. Why should you not have the right to demand an entire reciprocity from the States of the Germanic Empire? Why should Munich, Sturgard, Ettenheim, and Friburg,

have the right of remaining the centre of the conspiracies, which England never ceases to form against France and Helvetia?—These objects deserve your utmost solicitude, Citizen First Consul; and I dare to tell you so, because this privilege belongs to the Chief of Justice, and the most serious attention in this respect forms part of your first duties.—It may be objected, I know, that England, as a friendly power, has a right to send ministers to the Electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburgh. But English diplomacy is composed of two sorts of agents, whom all the Continent well know how to distinguish. Such ministers as Cornwallis and Warren, are never accredited but for honourable missions, to maintain a good understanding between nations, and to regulate the grand interests of policy or of commerce; whilst the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, are known throughout Europe as the artificers of crimes, whose cowardice is protected by a sacred character. I will say more, the presence of these contemptible agents is very mortifying to the Princes in friendship with France; and the Courts of Munich and Sturgard cannot support, without disgust, Drake and Spencer Smith, whom numberless reasons render suspected of a very different mission from that which is announced by their official title. In consequence of the demand that you have made of them, the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh have driven from their states the impure remains of the French who are enemies to their country, and whose hatred has survived the calamities of civil war, and the pardon which you have granted them. Let them equally drive away these artificers of conspiracy, whose mission has no other object but to reanimate the intestine dissensions of France; and to sow fresh discord on the Continent. Ought not our neighbours to suffer an equal alarm with ourselves at the return of political troubles, and of all those horrors of war, which can be profitable only to that nation which is the enemy of every other? I demand, in the most earnest manner, and every duty I owe you, Citizen First Consul, impels me to make the request, that the cabinet may take such effectual measures, that the Wickhams, the Drake's, and the Spencer Smith's, may not be received by any power in friendship with France, whatever may be their title or character; men who preach up assassination, and foment domestic troubles; the agents of corruption, the missionaries of revolt against all established governments, are the enemies of all states, and of all governments. The law of nations does not exist for them. I have fulfilled my duty, Citizen First Consul, in exposing to your view, the facts which prove, that Drake and Spencer Smith, exercise upon the Continent, the same mission with which Wickham was charged during the last war. Your supreme wisdom will do the rest.

*Report of the mission with which I have been charged by the Counsellor of State and Prefect of the Department of the Lower Rhine, near Mr. Drake, Minister from England to Munich.*

On the 10th Ventôse, after having received from the hands of the Prefect of the Lower Rhine, the instructions of Mr. Muller, I quitted Strasburg to go to Mr. Drake, Minister of England, at Munich. On the 13th I arrived at Augsbourg, and sent him two letters, of which I give the copies:

SIR,—I have been charged by Mr. Muller, with a letter which I shall very much wish to give

into your own hands. Will, you, therefore, have the goodness to name the day and hour that will be least inconvenient to you. I have the honour, &c.—On the 17th in the morning, finding that I did not receive any answer, I departed for Munich; on my arrival I wrote again to Mr. Drake as follows:

SIR,—During the four days that I remained at Augsburg, I have had the honour to address two letters to you, and I presume that you have not received them, as no answer has been sent to me; will you, Sir, let me know the hour when I may hope to deliver to you in person, that which Mr. Muller charged me to deliver to you.—I have the honour, &c.

As soon as he had received this letter, he sent for me to come to him immediately, and that he expected me. I accordingly presented myself to Mr. Drake, as aid-de-camp to a republican general, and delivered to him my letter of introduction, and the tenor of which was as follows:

SIR,—The person who will deliver this note to you, has been appointed by the company to address you, some days since, as my organ; he has the entire confidence of those who send him; and I beg of you to consider what he may say as the sincere expression of their sentiments. The most agreeable part of his commission, will doubtless be, to assure you of the devotion of the company. Permit me, Sir, to add, the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.—MULLER.

He had no sooner read this letter, than he inquired what news there was in France, and how things went on in that country? I answered him, that the moment of triumph for the jacobins was arrived; that every one was of opinion that a more favourable occasion to attempt something against the government would not be found, than that which now presented itself.—‘What can I do for you? tell me what are your views? what do you hope to accomplish? have your general and your committee formed any projects?’—Perceiving this to be a favourable moment, I presented him my plan of operations, which is the same as that noted down in the minute of my instructions. After having read it three times with attention, he said to me—‘This is a very good plan, but I do not observe many fortified towns among those that you describe, and it is to those, however, we must pay the greatest attention.’ I named the place of arms, and the citadel of Besançon. I represented to him that this town was very strong, and that we were certain of finding there a large park of artillery and ammunition of every kind.—‘Have you horses for your artillery?’—‘We are assured of having them.’—‘That is very well, but take care to use dispatch, and never strike till you are sure of your blow; but in case it should fail, can you retire to Mount Jura? Can you find a secure retreat there, and be certain of defending yourselves for a long time? In this interval, the other departments, in which you have already formed a party, will produce a diversion. After having paused a moment, he hastened to fetch his map, to discover what town of Germany was nearest to one of those that we were to occupy, in order (he said) to render our communication more prompt, and to give every necessary assistance. This plan merits, on my part, the greatest attention, and it has my hearty approbation. To-morrow, or the day after, I shall write to your general, and I doubt not but you will be the bearer of a very satisfactory an-

swer.’—Mr. Drake then spoke to me of Pichegru. I asked him if it were his opinion that he was in France? He said, certainly not: ‘I am extremely well acquainted with him, and he is a man of merit; but he is too cold and too heavy to be engaged to take such a step; he is assured that he is at this moment in London, and propagate that opinion every where. As to Georges, I positively know that he cannot be at Paris, as I have received letters from persons in London who had seen him the moment before they wrote to me. I have informed him of the reports which have been circulated of a continental war; I have described such an event as the most terrible blow that could happen for the jacobins, as that would establish the government for ever.’ He said in answer, ‘that there were strong reasons to justify the expectation, that Russia would be prevailed on to declare against France.’ He conversed at considerable length on the projected descent on England, and at the same time was very prodigal of injurious expressions against the First Consul; and it was in vain that he dissembled the fear which affected him, respecting the descent and enterprising genius of the French army. He spoke much of Mr. Muller. I answered him according to my instructions, that I had not seen him, &c. and that I knew positively that he was gone to the army of the coast on a very important mission. He smiled with an air of satisfaction, and said to me—‘On my learning the arrest of Moreau, I wrote to Mr. Muller to come to me, with orders to forward the letter to him wherever he might be; nor can I conceive why it has been delayed. I am, however, certain, that he is in Germany; for one of my friends writes me word, that he has not only seen but spoken to him; in short, I expect to see him every day.’ I am very glad to tell you, that this Citizen Muller does not possess a very great degree of confidence; he goes rarely to the committee, which is a matter of great complaint. ‘With respect to that, I desire you to tell your general, that when I sent him into France, it was merely to form a correspondence, but not to remain there as he has done, for he ought to have been returned these two months. He has also informed me by letter, of every thing you tell me, and even more, that the committee had accused him of having received funds for another revolutionary committee, of which I have no knowledge whatever. If I have not remitted more funds, it is, I must avow frankly, that I did not clearly understand the project of your committee. Some time since it was communicated to me by letter, that four departments might be incited to insurrection, and that I was to send them a plan of operations. I ask you, however, if it were reasonable that I should do so, as I was not acquainted with their means, and what they were qualified to execute. Now, things are very different, and I have a clear insight into them. I shall, therefore, employ myself most willingly in giving all the pecuniary aids which are at my disposal; you may have an entire reliance on me; come and dine with me, therefore, on Friday, at four o’clock, and you will find your dispatch ready.’—On Friday I presented myself again to Mr. Drake, when he gave me a most gracious reception.—‘Your business is completed. I have written to your general, and I think he will have every reason to be satisfied with me: the writing is not visible, but I presume that he has a receipt to make it so. If he did not know it, Mr. Mul-

ler would communicate it to him. You will also recommend him not to be in too great a hurry, for my first advice was to wait till B. was departed for Boulogne, and on the point of embarking. You will make your general feel the necessity of getting possession of Alsace, but principally of Huningue, and the citadel of Strasburgh; ah! what a blow it would be if you could obtain those two places; I could come nearer to you, and could give you pecuniary succour; there would then be no delay in our operations; we could act in concert, and every thing would proceed infinitely better; it is also of great importance to have a large party at Paris, for without that the rest is nothing; you must get rid of B——. (I acknowledge my fears at this moment of betraying the lively indignation which agitated me). He proceeded:—'It is the surest means of obtaining your liberty, and making peace with England. One thing I recommend to your general, to stir up parties of every denomination; they are all equally important to you, whether they are royalists or jacobins, &c. You must, however, except the friends of B——, whom you cannot trust, from the fear of being betrayed. Your general must also set at defiance the proclamations which the Consul will not fail to have circulated, when your insurrection shall be commenced; he will say, that such and such departments had a disposition to rise, but that it is entirely at an end, which will be done to alarm the other departments, and prevent them from acting, for such were the means employed to extinguish the war of La Vendée. A report was spread abroad that Georges was arrested, and a similar rumour was propagated respecting Pichegru; for though this day's gazette announces his arrest, I do not believe a word of it. It is very possible to seize on some unfortunate person, and say that it is Pichegru; it is a matter of great importance, that you should tell your general to take the earliest opportunity of indicating to me one or two towns, into which I may send confidential persons, who shall be furnished with funds, at the disposition of your general. Two or three thousand Louis may be sent him at a time. It is gold, I believe, that will be most convenient to him, as I cannot send him paper on Paris without giving cause for suspicion. You will remit to him these four bills of exchange for 9950 francs, or 10,114 livres 15s. 6d.; it is all the paper I have been able to procure on Paris. I have just written to Mr. Smith, at Stuttgart, to collect all the funds in his power, in order that the operations may not languish for want of money. If, however, you will wait till Wednesday, you may carry with you a more considerable sum.'—I answered him that my general had expressly ordered my immediate return, and that it was impossible for me to wait. 'If your general sends you again, or any other person, you will tell him to send them directly to me; an apartment will always be ready for them. I live out of the town on purpose, for I am surrounded with spies; every motion of mine is watched.'—Apropos, I replied, it had escaped my memory to tell you of the report, that you are about to quit this town and return to England; you are, it is said, recalled by your government, and I declare that the news greatly afflicted me.—It is true that such a report has prevailed, but I cannot explain the cause of it: some time since I furnished my house, and having demanded of the upholsterer the inventory of the goods which he had supplied me with, it was immediately thought that I was

about to take my departure; but never fear, my friend, this report is without the least foundation.—He let me out by a little secret door, and accompanied me to the gates of the town, telling me, at the same time, that he hoped very soon to hear news from my general.—Such were the expressions made use of by Mr. Drake in the conversation which we had relative to my mission. The plan of letter of Mr. Drake, written in sympathetic ink, the letter which was addressed to me by the name of Lefebvre, the receipt of the post-masters of Känstadt, of the letter addressed to Mr. Smith, at Stuttgart, with the four bills of exchange, have been sent to the Prefect.—(Signed)—ROSEY, Adjutant-Major, Captain of the 9th Regiment of Infantry of the Line.—Strasburgh, March 22, 1804.

### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Mr. DRAKE.—This unfortunate gentleman has, it seems, been ordered to quit the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria, who has caused him to be officially informed, that the honour of the Elector and the welfare of his people have compelled him "to declare to his excellency, Mr. Drake, that from this moment" [see the note, p. 678] "it will be impossible for him to have any communication with his excellency!" But, the most important passage in this note, is this: the ORIGINALS of the letters published by the French government, as the letters of Mr. Drake, were, at the time the note was written, IN POSSESSION OF THE ELECTOR. It was, then, rightly conjectured, last week, [p. 629], that Mr. Drake would not thank his friends for making his guilt, or innocence, as to the charge of abetting assassination, rest upon the issue of an inquiry respecting the authenticity of the letters attributed to him by the French.—In the second report of the grand judge, Mr. Spencer Smith, our minister at the court of the Elector of Wurtemburgh, is included in the charge; and, it is stated, in the French papers, that Mr. Smith fled from Stuttgart, after having burnt all his papers, while, at the same time, Mr. Drake was fleeing from Munich, on foot, to avoid falling into the hands of a party of gens-d'armes, whom he understood to have left Strasburgh for the purpose of seizing him.—When it was stated, some time ago, in the Register, that our ministers would be chased off the Continent, the expression was used figuratively: it was, only a few months back, scarcely to be conceived, that British ministers at neutral courts would be literally chased from the dominions of those courts; that they would actually be hunted home, as beasts of prey are hunted to their dens.—Nor, if we are to form an opinion from the second report of the grand judge, will this hunting be confined to the two unfortunate diplomatists above-

named. This high judicial person, this real "truly great character," observes to Buonaparté, that it will be impossible for France to suffer an hostile power to establish, on neutral territory, accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the republic. "You," says he, "Citizen First Consul, are the head of a nation great enough, *strong and brave* enough, to obtain, as your right, an absolute neutrality." Then he reminds the Consul, who, it would seem, has a short memory as to these matters, of the many instances in which foreign traitors and plotters have been driven out of France, since the establishment of the consular power; and, though the judge does, indeed, make no mention of, or allusion to, the Irish gentlemen, of whom Lord Hawkesbury speaks, he roundly asserts to the First Consul, who, he says, dearly loves to hear the truth, "that the Consul's wish is most sincere to secure established governments against every kind of propagandas and plots."—All this, however, seems intended merely to prepare the Consul for what follows; to wit:— "Why, then, should you not have a right to demand an *entire reciprocity* from the states of the Germanic empire? Why should Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and Friburg, have *the right of remaining the centre of the conspiracies* which England never ceases to form against France and Helvetia?" The grand judge allows, however, that "it may be said, that England, as a friendly power, has a right to send ministers to the Electors of Baden, Bavaria and Wurtemburgh;" but, after having argued the matter a little, he concludes thus: "Therefore, I beseech you, in the most earnest manner, and every duty I owe you, Citizen First Consul, impels me to put up the prayer, that you will take speedy and effectual measures, that the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, may not, under whatever title or character, *be received by any power in friendship with France.*"—If a bag of Mr. Drake's guineas had dropped down upon the table before this "truly great character," I doubt whether it would not have interrupted his pious invocation, if not have put a stop to his prattling altogether. But, indeed, who does not perceive, that the paper, entitled a Report of the Grand Judge, is, as in all similar cases in France and elsewhere, the production of the cabinet? And who does not think, therefore, that the passages, above quoted, prove that it is the intention of Buonaparté not to suffer us to keep ministers, or diplomatic agents of any rank or description,

in any of the countries, over which he has an influence? That such would be the consequence of the detecting of Mr. Drake's little intrigues was predicted, in the Register, the moment the detection was heard of: "These letters," was it observed, [p. 555], "will serve strongly to corroborate the charge, which has been made against England, which will now be implicitly believed all over the Continent, and which belief will facilitate the project of the French for *cutting off a connexion, even of a formal diplomatic nature, between England and the states bordering upon France.*" It will draw round the latter another tier of states hostile to us; and, thus, the project of the "safe politicians" will finally have no other effect, than that of sinking our country still lower in the eyes of the world, while it will leave the enemy still more secure on the side of the Continent, and leave him nothing to provide for but an attack upon these islands, whenever our financial or other distresses or troubles shall render the time favourable for making that attack."—But, Lord Hawkesbury, the "solid young Lord" Hawkesbury, has written a circular letter to the foreign ministers residing in London, by way of answer to the circular communication of Talleyrand and the letters which he thereupon received from the foreign ministers at Paris. This is, probably, the "strong means," which, on the 16th ultimo, the Doctor promised the Parliament he would employ, for the purpose of "convincing the world of the purity of the intentions of himself and his colleagues;" and, it must be confessed, that if temerity be a mark of strength, it was a strong measure indeed to commit the defence of the national character to the pen of a poor, dull, talentless man, like Lord Hawkesbury, whose unintelligible and paltry epistle can only tend to decide against us those few persons who entertained any doubts upon the subject. —To criticise every part of this performance, would require more room than can be here allotted to it; but, there are some few points which must not be overlooked.—The letters, to which the solid young lord was answering, say nothing about the charge of intended assassination; yet, it is that which the solid lord begins. And, how does he produce an acquittal of himself and colleagues? How does he "convince the world of the purity of their intentions?" In short, what does he say about this matter? "His Majesty has directed me to declare, that he hopes he shall not be reduced to the necessity of repelling, with

“merited scorn and indignation, the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his Majesty has been a party to plans of assassination.” The solid lord will hardly think it unreasonable, if we stop here, for the purpose of inquiring what this means; and, whether he really intended to convey an idea, that the King was in hopes he should not be reduced to the necessity of coming forward and denying that his ministers had been concerned in plans of assassination? And further, if the King should be compelled to make such denial, are we to understand that the King hopes, that he shall *not* be reduced to the necessity of making it with *merited* scorn and indignation? This is not cavilling: the sentence is utterly unintelligible thus far, and, we shall soon see that the remaining part of it only tends to increase the confusion:—“an accusation already made, with equal falsehood and calumny, by the same authority, against the members of his Majesty’s government during the late war—an accusation incompatible with the honour of his Majesty, and the known character of the British nation, and so completely devoid of any shadow of proof, that it may be reasonably presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment, for no other purpose than that of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of the sanguinary deed, which has recently been perpetrated by the direct order of the First Consul, in France, in violation of the rights of nations, and in contempt of the laws of humanity and honour.”—Honour! honour! “Where got he that word, trow?” But, without going into a discussion of this curious question, it must certainly be allowed, that the solid lord has, in this place, departed from that candour, for which his sect is so famous, as far, at least, as pretensions go. No man can justify the deed, to which reference is here made; but, it is not true, that the charge of planning assassination was preferred against the English ministers for the purpose of diverting the attention of Europe from the execution of the Duke d’Enghien, because the charge was preferred *before* that unfortunate prince was arrested. But, observe how anxious these ministers are to draw in every one, to be a party with them! What has their cause in common with that of the Duke d’Enghien? And why is his death brought forward in their defence? Might they not as well have made allusion to thousands of royalists of the west, who were murdered in consequence of having been abandoned in the infamous

treaty of Amiens? Buonaparté was a very good sort of a man, notwithstanding the fate of those persons; Mr. Otto was caressed, and the porcelaine de Seve went merrily round; but *now*, behold, the having committed a murder is to deprive the French government of all pretension to veracity.—The same accusation was, says the solid lord, preferred against the members of his Majesty’s government during the late war, and with *equal* falsehood and calumny. This is so like the well-meaning ministry! So of a piece with that cuckoo cry of having done only what the late minister did last war, a cry with which the parliament and the whole nation was, long before the debates were put a stop to, completely surfeited. “Of *equal* falsehood and calumny.” As much as to say, ‘if we have been plotting, if we have been engaged in dirty intrigues, Pitt and the rest of them shall come in for a share along with us, in the eyes of the whole world, and particularly in the eyes of the English rabble.’ How very different the cases, how very *unequal* the calumny, admitting it to be calumny in both instances, I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.—Such an accusation, the foreign ministers are told, is “incompatible with the honour of his Majesty and with the character of the British nation;” but, supposing that the foreign ministers should be able to extract a meaning from this insufferable nonsense; supposing, that they should be able to discover what is meant by an accusation being incompatible with the honour and character of the persons against whom it is made; supposing that they should find it to mean, that to conceive and abet the crime of assassination are utterly incompatible with the honourable mind of his Majesty, and with the character of the British nation; and, supposing that they should, as, indeed, they certainly will, readily accede to this position, what is that to the solid young lord and his colleagues? It is the British *ministry*, and not the King or the nation, against whom the accusation has been made. It is truly curious to observe how these men contrive to be nestled in amongst others, to blend and confound their official character, when they are charged with any folly or crime, and when hard driven for a defence. At other times, they are “the ministers,” his Majesty’s “*confidential* servants.” It is they who act; they alone; and this is clearly pointed out in every word and gesture. But, when there is some disgrace or calamity to account for; when, indeed, the discussion looks at all towards responsibility, then, it is *his Majesty*; it is

*the government*; it is *the nation*: and, the *ministry* and *confidential* servants seem to have ceased to exist. The word *government* is sometimes, but always very improperly, used instead of *ministry*; and we do frequently hear people talk of the late government and the present government; of turning out the government, and of choosing another government; of a weak government or a strong government; of an upright government or a corrupt government. But, this phraseology, which sprang up amongst the footmen of people in office, has never spread far beyond the purlieus of Downing-street. The people of this kingdom, when they speak of *the government*, mean the whole mass of authority belonging to, and exercised by, the King, Lords, and Commons. Of this the Jenkinsons are well aware, and, therefore, when they are speaking of charges preferred against themselves, they talk of *the government*, to which they know that every one feels attached. From beginning to end of the letter of Lord Hawkesbury, neither the word *ministers* nor *ministry* once occurs; but, it is to be hoped and presumed, that so low a trick will not have the effect of blinding the nation as to who are the true objects of resentment.—On this part of the subject, it only remains to be observed, that, though there is a great deal of bluster about the charge of planning assassination, that charge is *not positively denied*. These are not very “strong means” of convincing the world of the purity of the intentions of the “confidential servants.”—With regard to Mr. Drake's letters, their authenticity is not admitted; but, it is not rejected. A case like that of Mr. Drake is, however, supposed; and conduct, such as is imputed to him, is justified, in contradiction to the sentiments expressed in the answers given to Talleyrand's note by the several foreign ministers at Paris.—As to whether a foreign minister, accredited to a neutral state, has a right there to carry on plans for subverting the government of a third state, which state is at war with his sovereign and at peace and in amity with the state to which he is accredited, we have only to ask, 1st, whether such planning be *an act of hostility*; and, 2d, whether a neutral sovereign can justly *permit acts of hostility to be committed within his territory*. If the former of these questions be answered in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, then, in spite of all the embarrassment, in which the confused brain of Lord Hawkesbury can involve the question, Mr. Drake has violated the rights of neutrality. The solid young lord says, that the actions

of a public minister, towards other states than that to which he is accredited, “may be praiseworthy, or blamable, according to the nature of the actions themselves; but they do not constitute any violation of his public character, except in as far as they militate against the country, or the security of the country, where he is accredited.” But, to plan, in a neutral state, the subversion of the government of a belligerent state, is to commit an act of hostility against that belligerent state; and, as, to permit, in a neutral state, an act of hostility against one of the belligerent states, is, on the part of the neutral state, a breach of the laws of neutrality, it follows, of course, that, in consequence of such act of hostility, the neutral state is exposed to the just vengeance of the offended belligerent state; and, therefore, the actions of any public minister so planning and plotting, in a neutral state, come up fully to the solid young lord's definition; they do “militate against the safety of the country where he is accredited;” they amount to an offence against that country, and are liable to be punished by the sending away of the person who commits them, precisely as they have been punished in the present instance.—Another ground, on which our solid young lord justifies the conduct of a person in Mr. Drake's situation, is, the right which every belligerent power has to “avail itself of all discontents which may exist in the country with which it is at war.” True; this right is unquestionable; but, then, such discontents must *already exist*; for, it is by no means allowable to use secret means of creating such discontents in the interior of a country, with whom you have been in peace and friendship; and, if discontents did exist in France, previous to the interference of ministers, or their agents, that interference is fully justified; but, that they did exist has, certainly, not been proved, though, probably it may be, the next time the solid young lord takes up his pen.—But, it seems, that his Majesty's ministers would have refused to fulfil those duties which every wise and just government owes to itself and to the world in general, “if they had disregarded the feelings of such of the inhabitants of France as are justly discontented with the existing government of that country; if they had refused to listen to the designs of such inhabitants for delivering their country from the degrading yoke of usurpation and bondage under which it groans.”—Is it not somewhat late for Lord Hawkesbury, for this man of Seve porcelaine, to discover, that Buonaparte

is an *usurper*, and that he imposes upon France a *degrading yoke of bondage*? And, has not a short space of time caused a very considerable alteration in his opinions as to this matter? "I am asked," said he, on the 7th of May, 1802, "I am asked, whether 'jacobin principles do not exist in as great a degree as ever in France. I answer, 'that they do not exist at all. The question for us, is not, what principles gave birth to the present government, but *what are its principles now*. And, in that respect, there has been a *complete change in the government of France*; the present government have removed every principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner *as satisfactory as the most sanguine friend of the war could desire*. How ever I may regret the fate of the House of Bourbon, yet, if it had been for *nothing but the restoration of that House the contest would not have been carried on*. The contest was carried on because the order of things in France was hostile to all established governments. . . . Full credit is due to the professions of the present French government, as far as regards foreign powers; for they have publicly asked pardon of God and man, and done every thing they can to revert to the ancient established principles of government; and their measures, in every point I have been able to view them, have that tendency; and, it is an important consideration, with reference to this peace, *how far it would be prudent in us, by a continuation of the war, to drive them again to revolutionary means, where they must abandon the system of justice and moderation which they have now adopted*."—Let us pause here for a moment to ask the solid young lord which of his hereditary qualities he will call forth to assist him in reconciling these assertions and opinions with what he has now advanced in defence of the "*aid and assistance*," given by himself and his colleagues to such of the inhabitants of France, as are justly discontented with the existing government of that country, for the purpose of *delivering them from the degrading yoke of usurpation and bondage under which they groan*! Will he pretend, that this yoke of usurpation and bondage has been put upon the French people *since the peace*? Hardly! Yet, it would not be safe to swear that such a pretext would not be made use of. The fact, however, is so directly the contrary, and so notorious, that he would obtain belief with no human being. But, if we were to allow of the expediency of exciting and fomenting insurrections in France now, by

under-hand means, and, at the same time, allow that it would have been dangerous to continue the late war for fear of exciting or fomenting insurrections; if we were to make this extraordinary acknowledgment, all we should then have to demand of the solid young lord would be to shew us, that our *right* is now as good as it was then; and, that a treaty of peace, solemnly recognizing the legality of the consular government, and of this present Consul's authority, has not at all altered our situation with respect to the sort of hostility lawfully to be carried on against that government and its chief. The treaty itself speaks plain enough: it proclaims lasting *friendship* between his Majesty and the consular government; and, lest any doubt should remain as to the sincerity of the ministers, and of Lord Hawkesbury in particular, that wise young man and safe-politician, took an opportunity, in a dispatch to his most fit and worthy representative, Mr. Merry, dated 10th of June, 1802, to explain more at large the amicable meaning and effect of the treaty. "His Majesty," says he, "would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace, between him and the French republic, to *encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present government of France*. He is sincerely desirous, that the peace which has been concluded may be *permanent*, and may lead to the *establishment of a system of good understanding and harmony between the two countries*. With these sentiments he is disposed to employ all the means in his power to guard against any circumstance, which can have the effect of disturbing the tranquillity that has been *so happily restored*."—Now, were these the proper sentiments to be expressed towards a government, which was to be regarded as imposing a "*degrading yoke of usurpation and bondage*?" Is there a man of honour in the whole world, who will not cry shame on us for this base hypocrisy? Or were we, as long as it suited us, to treat Buonaparté as a legitimate ruler; and, now that it is become convenient, are we to consider him as an usurper? It will, perhaps, be said, that we did not *expressly* acknowledge the legitimacy of his power. Paltry subterfuge! Too paltry for any one but a safe politician. But, if we did not expressly acknowledge the legitimacy of Buonaparté's power, what was the reason? Truly because he would not let us; because he disdained the idea of any adhesion of ours being necessary to the establishment of his authority—Not only did we recognize the legality of his

sway by contracting with him bonds of peace and amity; but, we joined him in settling the boundaries of other states, and the powers of other governments: nor did we stop here, for from him, and from him alone, *we received the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad!* Those territories were not ceded to us by Holland and Spain, but by the republican government of France, with its present Consul at its head; by that very government which is *now* called an usurpation, and that very Consul who is now represented as an usurper, and that too by the identical solid young lord, who negotiated the cession. And, can it be believed, that the world will not despise us for this glaring inconsistency? this shocking want of all principle? Am I told, that Holland and Spain were parties to the treaty? To the definitive treaty they were, but not to the preliminaries; and, it was in the preliminaries that the cession was made: the definitive treaty only confirmed it: and, indeed, it is notorious to the whole world, that Holland and Spain had nothing to do but to obey; nay, at a time when the definitive treaty seemed to experience some obstacle, and it was suggested that Holland and Spain might object to the cession made to us by France, the ministerial writers boasted of the all-controlling power of their new friend: "Holland and Spain," said they, "may grumble, but they must obey." And these are the persons who are now calling in question the legitimacy of the republican government! These are the persons, who now claim a right to treat the Consul as an usurper! —After all, however, comes the general, the standing justification: the *example of the late ministry*. Whenever the present ministers have been attacked, they have constantly pleaded this example, and with much about as good reason as upon the present occasion. Are they told, that their measures relative to the militia are unwise, their answer is; "why, you had a militia last war:" that the volunteers are too numerous, or are under bad regulations; "why, you had volunteers last war:" that their income tax has been shockingly managed; "why, you had an income tax last war:" that a rebellion broke out in Ireland in five days after they had declared the people of that country to be in a state of perfect loyalty and content; "why, you had a rebellion in Ireland last war." They cannot, indeed, say, that there were any Lord Redesdale's letters written last war; but it is a wonder, that the Attorney-General did not find a precedent, in the history of the last war, even for them. There is no point whatever, upon which

that gentleman has not, in reply to Mr. Windham, hammered out something from the last war, in order to produce an appearance of inconsistency in the person whom he was opposing. But, this has, indeed, been the unvarying practice of the whole of them; and, as is the custom with sterile minds, they have hung upon it till their hearers are disgusted with the sound. Imbecility and malice are associates much more frequently than is generally imagined; and, in the divers appeals that have been made by these ministers to the example of their predecessors, there has, perhaps, been as great misrepresentation and from as bad motives, as ever was before heard of in the world; but, though I thought they had carried this sort of foul play to its utmost extent; though I was decidedly of opinion that, in this walk, the Attorney-General yielded to no one but the Doctor himself, I must now confess that their right worthy colleagues in the office of foreign affairs have borne away the palm. — "An accusation already made, with *equal* falsehood and calumny, by the same authority, against the members of his Majesty's government, during the last war." — There was no occasion to mention this? No examination took place upon the subject last war: no regular official charge, and, of course, no official contradiction. The only object of this remark was, to inculcate a belief amongst the people of this country, that, whatever may have been the conduct of the present ministers, with respect to the conspiracy in France, it is no more than an exact imitation of the conduct of their predecessors in office; than which nothing can be farther from the truth, as must be evident to every one who gives himself a moment's time to reflect upon the vast dissimilarity in the circumstances. During the last war, his Majesty's ministers were indeed, accused, and frequently accused, by the rulers of the day, of encouraging plots and conspiracies; but, can Lord Hawkesbury refer us to any official papers that were published in *proof* of such accusations? Were any persons arrested with English bills of exchange upon them? Had we ever before to lament the fate of persons in the situation of Georges (whom every good and brave man in the world ought to lament) and his associates? Were the letters of any of our public ministers intercepted and published, last war? Did the ministers of all the foreign powers ever, during the last war, unite in expressing their abhorrence of our intrigues? In short, can the solid young lord produce any thing to prove, that the

accusation against the late ministry had as much probability about it as the accusation against the present ministers? Certainly he cannot. But, the important distinction is this: the late ministry had *never recognized the legitimacy of the republican government*, whereas the present ministers have made and put upon indelible record that recognition. The late ministry had, with respect to the republic and her chief, rights which the present ministers have not: the former had, at all times, the right to act against the ruler or rulers of France as against usurpers; the latter have, as we have already seen, no such right, unless the law of nations permits them to consider a government as legitimate, while it is engaged in ceding islands to them, and as usurped, the moment that cession is completed. Therefore, though the accusation against the late ministers was the same as against the present ministers, yet, it is not true to describe it as characterized with "*equal falsehood and calumny*," which is the same thing as to say, that, in both cases it was "*equally true and just*;" an assertion totally unfounded, and, as has been already observed, dictated by the most contemptible of motives.—In taking leave of this starvling state-paper, this curious specimen of the dark and the dull, of vulgar sophistry and common-place recrimination, one comforting reflection presents itself, and that is, that we have now some reason to hope, that no other state paper will ever come from the same pen. Gracious God! when shall we wash away the disgrace written upon our foreheads by that pen!

THE BUDGET.—This annual visitation of flattering falsehood, has just made its appearance for the present year. The Doctor brought it forward on Monday, the 30th ultimo, with just as little shame and as much assurance as if all his estimates and predictions of last year had been verified. If he spoke truth, respecting the produce of the revenue, then are my statements of the two last weeks (see p. 577 and 609) extremely false. It is useless to go over those calculations again; it is useless to repeat them in detail, but I here positively assert them to be true, and, of course, I positively assert, that the Doctor's statements are false. The question embraces many heads; each of these branches out into many inferior points; a great number of accounts must be referred to; and, indeed, to terminate the dispute, to place it beyond the power of embarrassment and misrepresentation is impossible, because it, in some measure, depends upon future events. But, if we judge, as, in all

such cases, we ought to judge, of the unknown by the known; if, of two persons, we ought to believe him whose predictions have proved true, and to disbelieve him whose predictions, as to the same matter, have proved false; if we adopt this principle, the Budget furnishes materials whereby to decide between the Doctor and me; seeing that there are three points, in which there is no room for subterfuge, and in which the present Budget completely contradicts the last: to wit; 1st, the *Surplus of the Consolidated Fund*; 2d. the *amount of war expenditure*; 3d. the *amount of the loan*—In the last year's Budget, the Surplus of the Consolidated Fund was estimated at 6,500,000*l.* in this year's Budget, it is acknowledged to have yielded only 5,100,000*l.* In the last year's Budget, the future annual loan was stated at 6,000,000*l.* in this year's Budget, we are informed, that a loan of 14,500,000*l.* has been contracted for; and, though we are told, that 4,500,000*l.* of this sum is for the service of Ireland, yet, we know, that Great Britain must pay the interest of the whole; and, even deducting the Irish part, there are ten millions borrowed instead of six. In the last year's Budget, the annual expenses of the war were stated at 26,000,000*l.* they are, in this year's Budget, stated at 36,000,000*l.*—But, let us hear the very words that the Doctor made use of last year:—"The committee will perceive that the great object I have in view is to raise a large part of the Supplies within the year. The extent to which I wish to carry this principle is this, that there shall be *no increase whatever of the Public Debt during the course of the war*. In the first place it will be necessary to ascertain the probable amount of the annual charges of the war, and then to make provisions for carrying on a vigorous and *even protracted contest*, without making any greater addition to the public debt than what will be annually liquidated by the Sinking Fund. The annual charge of the war, unless demands should be made upon us by the intervention of foreign powers who may wish to make a common cause with us, I think *will not exceed twenty-six millions*. I do not deny that this is a great, an enormous sum, but certainly not greater than the object for which we have now to contend. If then the House think fit to adopt the measure I am now proposing, if I am right in my estimate of the *growing produce of the Consolidated Fund*, which I have considered at about *six millions and a half*, and if my calculation of the annual taxes be correct,

" which I have estimated at 12,500,000l.  
 " but which for this purpose I will only take  
 " at 10,000,000l. there will only remain a  
 " sum of 6,000,000l. to be borrowed, which  
 " will be more than covered by the Sinking  
 " Fund, which now produces considerably  
 " more than six millions. The *growing*  
 " produce of the Consolidated Fund is also  
 " likely to *increase*, unless we are again vi-  
 " sited by those calamities with which the  
 " country has been afflicted. If then my  
 " calculations are correct, we shall be able  
 " to meet a War Expenditure of twenty-six  
 " millions without any increase to the Pub-  
 " lic Debt, an object so desirable that no dif-  
 " ference of opinion can be entertained upon  
 " the subject. I trust, therefore, this sys-  
 " tem will be adopted; it is one which has  
 " been before tried, and of which the effect  
 " is known; it has inspired confidence at  
 " home and created respect abroad.—But  
 " the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be a  
 " difference in another respect, the differ-  
 " ence between a temporary and a perma-  
 " nent tax: it will have another effect also,  
 " that of convincing the enemy of this  
 " country, that it is hopeless for him to con-  
 " tend with our finances, that it is not in  
 " his power to affect us in that respect:—  
 " it will have a still farther effect, that of  
 " convincing the other powers of Europe,  
 " that they may safely join with us in a  
 " common cause of resistance against the  
 " common enemy, for that the resources of  
 " this country are such as to give full secu-  
 " rity for the punctual discharge of any en-  
 " gagement it may enter into, and this is an  
 " object for which I have in view some pro-  
 " visions."—Now, all this is proved to be  
 " false. The "*growing* produce of the Con-  
 " solidated Fund" has grown, according to the  
 " Doctor's own account, from 6,500,000l. to  
 " 5,000,000l. though we have not been visited  
 " by scarcity, and though, indeed, we have  
 " had three such years of plenty, and three  
 " such harvests as England never before saw  
 " follow in uninterrupted succession, an ad-  
 " vantage of vast importance to the financial  
 " concerns of the country.—There has been a  
 " loan of 14,500,000l. instead of 6,000,000l.  
 " for, as to attributing 4,500,000l. of this sum  
 " to Ireland, what is that to us, so long as we  
 " are to pay the interest: besides, there has  
 " been another loan of 1,500,000l. made in  
 " Ireland, quite as great as that country can  
 " bear; and who ever before heard of raising  
 " a loan of 6,000,000l. for Ireland. In short,  
 " what must be the man who can derive any  
 " comfort from the reflection that Ireland is  
 " compelled to borrow four times as great a  
 " sum as it can obtain credit for, four

times as much as its income will be taken  
 in pledge for.—There is an *increase* of  
 the public debt this year, contrary to the pro-  
 mises of the Doctor, and the annual interest  
 upon that increase will, he tells us, amount  
 to 736,000l. in spite of the alleviating ope-  
 rations of the Sinking fund. \* —The war  
 expenditure for Great-Britain alone is, he  
 now says, *thirty-six*, instead of *twenty-*  
*six*, millions, though no " demands have  
 " been made upon us by foreign powers  
 " wishing to make a common cause with  
 " us;" unless, indeed, we admit MESSIEURS  
 ROSEY and MEHÉE DE LATOUCHE to be fo-  
 reign powers! In my statement of the annual  
 expenditure of the country, during the pre-  
 sent war, I reckoned the total at 60,000,000l.  
 My words were these: " We cannot esti-  
 " mate the expenditure of the present and  
 " every future year, even of *this* sort of  
 " warfare at less than 60,000,000l. There-  
 " fore, however the Doctor may defer his  
 " loans, by whatever art he may hide from  
 " our eyes the path to bankruptcy, the  
 " loans must come at last, or, in one shape  
 " or another, the national debt, or rather,  
 " the amount to be annually paid by the  
 " people on the amount of debt, must go  
 " on increasing." Sixty millions was be-  
 neath the mark. The supplies amount to

\* Upon this subject, and by way of com-  
 ment on what I have before said as to the  
 inefficacy of the fund, an essay has been  
 published in a Cornwall paper, which has  
 been forwarded to me, perhaps by way of  
 challenge. I will insert it in my next sheet,  
 and, in the mean-time, I beg leave to as-  
 sure the author, that I really am "*an En-*  
*glishman*," though I do not happen to  
 believe it to be a good thing to make the  
 people pay 25,000,000l. a year in taxes, in  
 order to support the holders of stock, while  
 those holders do not pay a million.—I  
 have also received another paper, in which  
 the writer endeavours to convince me of  
 the reality of the *reduction* produced by the  
 Sinking Fund; and, this person is kind  
 enough to illustrate his doctrine by the case  
 of a mortgager who applies a certain part  
 of his income to clear off his mortgage. I  
 am much obliged to this gentleman; but,  
 besides that he admits all that I was anxious  
 to impress upon the minds of my readers,  
 I am utterly astonished, that he should  
 have thought his illustration at all applica-  
 ble. I am not sorry, however, that the  
 application has been made, because it  
 opens to me what I now find to be the  
 chief source of those funding notions which  
 I cannot but regard as erroneous.

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6,200,000l. and the charge on account of debt will, this year, in one way or another amount to more than 26,000,000l. So that, the total annual expenditure, according to the Doctor's present statement, will be more than 62,000,000l. And this, observe, makes no provision for *offensive war*; no provision for *subsidies*; except as was before observed, to our faithful allies Mons. Rosey and De Latouche. It will cost us sixty-two millions a year to live in a state of siege! Sixty-two millions a year just to keep our heads out of the yoke. And yet, the Doctor has the assurance to tell us, that we can support a contest of this sort of any duration, without making any addition to the national debt." The whole annual income of the nation is 38,000,000l. and its annual expenditure 60,000,000l. Shift the items how he will, this is the fact; a fact which stands recorded in the accounts laid before Parliament, and which, therefore, if those accounts are not false, cannot be denied.—Yet, I shall be reminded, that the monied men have no scruple to lend even to the Doctor, and that loans are made upon as "good terms" as ever; and I shall be further reminded, that, notwithstanding the state of Ireland, political and æconomical, notwithstanding the issue of three and sixpenny notes, the loan for Ireland has been made upon "terms extremely advantageous"—yes, that is the phrase, "extremely advantageous to the public and profitable to the contractor." Happy chapmen! both gain. Fortunate gamesters! both win. By what miserable means this deception is kept up! Our children, when they grow up, will blush for the stupidity of their fathers. When the bubble has burst, we ourselves, even the most doltish amongst us, shall wonder how we could so long have been deluded by so naked a deceit. "Advantageous terms" indeed! What is there in the whole transaction, as far as the government and the jobbers are concerned, but an *exchange of paper*? Not a single house or a field is sold for the purpose of lending the money to government. Finally there come *real riches*, in one shape or another, to be expended by the government, though not to the nominal amount of the loan, nor any thing near it; but, as to the immediate contractors, they deal in *paper*, and the paper they take is just as good as the paper they give. Much is done too by a dextrous handing backward and forward of the several sorts of government paper; and, it is by no means improbable, that the "public," who always makes such an "excellent bargain," does not receive of *bond fide* riches much above half

the amount of what it pays interest for. Those, therefore, who refer to the readiness of the Jews to lend to government, as being a proof of the capability of the nation to continue paying the annual charge on account of debt, should recollect, that, in the first place, the Jews give paper for paper, one sort of which is just as good as the other, and always must be so, because both rest upon the same foundation. And, secondly, it should be remembered, that the loan Jews, like the razor-making Jew of Peter Pindar, make their loans to *sell*. It is a mere game at hazard; but the principles of which game are so well understood by them, that, take one chance with another, they are sure to win.—But, the serious view of this subject is on the side of the war with France. That war *cannot* be carried on for more than five years, if we continue to pay the present annual charge on account of debt. If, therefore, the enemy should not take compassion upon us, he has nothing to do but to keep us, for five years, in our present way of going on; for, at the end of that time, we must, in my opinion, stop paying the interest of the debt, or we must make peace on the enemy's own terms: the former of these is called national bankruptcy, and the latter may be called national slavery; which latter will, too, soon produce the former; so that, even the last degree of submission will not save the funds. Am I asked for my remedy? I know of none. Am I then asked why I do not hold my tongue? Because it is my duty, and every man's duty, to endeavour to prepare the country for the trial that awaits it. Calamities, when they come unexpected, come with double weight. I hope, and I trust, that we shall survive the threatened storm; that the monarchy will come out of it stronger than ever. There wants nothing but wisdom and courage in the government. But, on the other hand, that want, if it should exist at the time, will most assuredly annihilate us as an independent nation. In order to form an opinion as to the probable issue of the present contest, we should first inquire what probability there is of Buonaparté's remaining at the head of the French government for five years longer; and, if it be likely that he will remain for that time, or that the government will exist so long, the next question is, is it wisest for the Consul, (or his successor,) to produce the destruction of the public funds in this country, by a continuation of the war; or, to make use of our love of the funds in order to impose on us such terms of peace as shall, in a very short space of time, compel us to yield without a struggle? This question has, I dare say, been discussed

ten thousand times, in the consular cabinet, and the determination will greatly depend upon the opinion which is there entertained as to the effect which would be produced in this country by the destruction of the funds.

**IRISH CURRENCY.**—On this subject, which is, indeed, a very important one, I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter in p. 641. The measures taken by the Irish government, and the consequences of those measures, have turned out to be precisely what I apprehended: little notes, so low as 3s. 6d. have been issued. Dollars have also been issued, and, as it was foretold, at a rate much above their sterling value. They were, it seems, issued, at first, at the rate of six shillings English, but, they were afterwards lowered to five and sixpence English; so that each dollar is worth sixpence more in Ireland than it is worth in England; or, to speak more correctly, it will purchase sixpennyworth more of bank paper; which amounts to the same thing as to say, that the Irish bank paper has depreciated ten per centum lower than the English bank paper, the latter having depreciated only ten per centum.—The issuing of small notes has produced the effect which was anticipated; a sudden rise in the price of the necessaries of life: meat, in the space of ten days, raised from 9d. to 11d., and other things in proportion. The small paper has, it seems, been issued by private persons. It is not, of course, a legal tender; but, without law to help it, it will not long stand; and, the moment the law is applied to it, it becomes assignats, and all the consequences follow.—But, I must beg the reader to turn to the letter of my correspondent, to whom I am very much obliged, and who will be astonished to find, that, until his letter was received, the public here were as ignorant of what passed in Dublin, relative to the currency, as they were of what had been passing in the moon.—As somewhat appertaining to this subject, I will just observe here, that, in a letter, which I have received upon the subject of dollars, and which letter will be inserted in the next sheet, the writer seems to think that the advance in the current value of the dollar is no proof of the depreciation of bank paper. Perhaps he will, in course of a day or two, favour me with a post-script to his letter, accounting for the still higher advance in the current value of the dollar in Ireland, and tracing that advance to some cause other than that of a depreciation in the bank paper.

**INDIA.**—On the 3d instant votes of

thanks passed, in both Houses of Parliament, to the MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY first; then, to Lord Clive, Mr. Duncan, General Lake, Major Generals St. John and Wellesley; and, also to all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the armies in India. In the House of Peers, no objection was made to the motion for thanks; but, in the House of Commons Mr. Fox moved the previous question, but the House did not divide upon it. The ground of Mr. Fox's opposition was, that, by this vote, the chief merit of the campaign was ascribed to Lord Wellesley, who had no more to do with it than the Admiralty had to do with the victory gained by Lord Howe.—This objection was certainly quite sufficient, but that which was urged by Mr. Francis was still stronger, to wit; that this vote would commit the House as to the merits or demerits of Lord Wellesley in going to war at all, particularly for the purpose of making conquests, an act which, as Mr. Francis observed, must not only be impolitic, but directly contrary to a positive law. It is now nearly two months, that Mr. Francis made a motion, in order to obtain information as to the origin of the present war in India, and to enable the House to judge of its justice or injustice. That motion the ministers opposed\*, upon the ground, that they were not in possession of the information required. They still say, they are not in possession of it; but yet they call upon Parliament to vote thanks, though, as far as the Parliament know, censure, instead of thanks, may be merited. There is nobody who says, and, perhaps, nobody who thinks, that Lord Wellesley does deserve censure; but, the law says, that no Governor General of India shall go to war for the purpose of making conquests. Lord Wellesley has gone to war, and has made conquests; and, without any information as to the justice or necessity of the war, the Parliament are called upon to vote thanks to the Governor General, of whose conduct, as to this war, they know nothing, except that it exhibits a manifest departure from the letter of the law. But, this is the way in which Parliament is committed upon all such matters; and, if it should finally turn out, that the war has been undertaken without just grounds, whoever attempts to obtain a legislative inquiry, will be silenced in a moment by a reference to this vote of thanks.

\* See Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, March 14, 1804. p. 865.